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24 May 1983

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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IMPACT OF LOWER OIL REVENUES IN GULF DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 320, 9 Apr 83 pp 50-51

[Article: "Gulf Countries on the Threshold of Austerity Period"]

[Text] A new period in Arab oil countries has begun following a decrease in petroleum prices, a period characterized by a decrease in expenditures and a halt to some projects, which is a bit of belt-tightening in the new situation which has cut them off from a great deal of money.

The lowering by OPEC of its oil prices has put the Arab Gulf countries on the threshold of a new period which is precipitating the following developments:

--A declaration by Saudi Arabia of its determination to cut its spending by at least 30 percent for the fiscal year 1983/84 in the hope of achieving an overall balance of the general budget following the drop in its oil revenue of \$30 billion since a year ago;

--A declaration by the State of Qatar of its determination to cut its unnecessary spending by at least one-fifth as a result of its daily losses which amount to about \$1.5 million resulting from the drop in the price of oil;

--A declaration by Bahrain's minister of finance and economy that his country will lose 100 million dinars a year in oil revenues as a result of the price drop;

--Expectation by the United Arab Emirates that the increase in its budget deficit will lead to borrowing from international financial markets to cover its budget deficit for 1983;

--Expectation by 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Atiqi, economic councilor to the Amir of Kuwait, of the need for new taxes to make up for the drop in the state's revenues.

The drop in the price of oil, despite its negative effect, has not taken the Arab oil-producing countries by surprise. Because of the huge demand

for oil in the seventies, it was possible for the Arab countries to establish the basic structure of their national economy and to build the foundations of industries as alternatives to oil. However the sharp drop in their oil revenue raises a question: How long are they prepared to continue their development projects under the present conditions of shrinking oil revenue?

Saudi Arabia

It seems that Saudi Arabia is more prepared than most Arab countries in facing the drop in revenues. Some Saudi analysts believe that the drop in the price of oil and the slowing down of government spending are necessary requisites in the advanced stage of the kingdom's economic and social development.

At present, Saudi Arabia produces an average of about 3.5 million barrels of oil per day, half a million of which is allocated to local consumption.

Saudi Arabia needs to produce an average ranging between 4.5 and 5.5 million barrels a day to meet its basic needs. Comparison of this average range with the present-day production average shows that the difference between the two averages is not great. Simple arithmetical calculation reveals that if present-day production is maintained for another year at the new official price of \$29 per barrel, it will guarantee for the Saudi kingdom a revenue amounting to about \$30 billion. If the revenues from the sale of liquified natural gas, which amounts to about \$2 billion, and returns from foreign investment of Saudi capital handled by the Saudi monetary agency, SAMA, which amounts to \$12 billion, is added to Saudi oil revenue, it is evident that the gross Saudi revenue will amount to about \$44 billion. This is a little more than half of Saudi spending of \$80 billion for fiscal 1982/83. It must be borne in mind that about \$10 billion out of this was appropriated for foreign aid, mainly in supporting the Iraqi war effort.

Under these circumstances, it has become probable that Saudi Arabia will undertake to reduce substantially government spending rather than resorting to its reserve funds, which are estimated to be \$150 billion. In this case, the projects proposed for postponement or cancellation certainly will be projects of a luxury or social sort such as sports complexes or military hospitals in order to maintain spending for basic infrastructure generally such as roads, hospitals, schools and military expenses.

Kuwait

Kuwait was the first Gulf state to face a deficit in its budget because of shrinking oil revenues but Kuwait's foreign assets, which are estimated at \$50 billion, and its annual income from foreign investments, which are estimated at about \$8 billion, will provide full replacement for any partial decline in state revenues.

In years past, Kuwait's oil revenue represented 95 percent of its total revenue. But in 1979, the volume of its oil revenue began to shrink. It steadily fell from \$21 billion until it reached \$9 billion last year, a drop of 33 percent for the first 9 months of 1982.

Some economic observers believe that this change was behind the recent Kuwaiti drive in the acquisition of some oil refineries from Gulf Oil Company and in purchasing 1600 gas stations in Europe. It is known that Kuwait exports three-fourths of its oil in the form of refined products which are not subject to the price structures imposed by OPEC on crude oil. Observers also believe that another reason behind the Kuwaiti business venture with Gulf Oil Company was to secure a market for about one-fifth of its total oil production. However, the phenomenon that is noteworthy is the appreciable drop that occurred in the foreign investment revenue in the wake of the drop in the oil revenue itself. Kuwaiti Central Bank statistics show that the country's foreign investment figure has dropped from \$6 billion to \$4.6 billion for the first 9 months of last year and attribute this drop mainly to falling interest rate averages.

If allowance is made for the fact that the Kuwaiti Government has gotten into the practice of disregarding foreign investment income in its annual budget report, the total estimated budget deficit for the current fiscal year just exceeds a billion dollars. It must be acknowledged that this figure was put together prior to the Suq al-Manakh crisis in which the government had to intervene by appropriating \$1.7 billion to reimburse small investors.

In light of these financial conditions, the Kuwaiti Government has resorted to postponing the implementation of a number of its development projects and to restricting spending by freezing of salaries and by halting government hiring. In addition, it has hinted at the possibility of imposing new taxes.

Bahrain

The official price of Saudi oil is considered extremely important for Bahrain's economy. This is because 40 percent of Bahrain's oil revenue comes from al-Safa offshore oil field which is jointly owned by Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. Revenue from Bahrain oil fields proper constitute only 34 percent of its total oil revenue. The Saudi oil price has another importance for Bahrain: 80 percent of the oil refined by the Bahrain Oil Company, whose total production capacity is 250,000 barrels per day, is secured by Saudi Arabia.

Bahrain, unlike its neighboring Gulf countries, does not have a huge financial reserve which it can fall back on under pressing conditions. Its monetary agency has confirmed that Bahrain's net official reserve would have been sufficient at the end of 1981 to cover payment of non-oil import bills for 12 months only. On the other hand, the agency's statistics show that Bahrain's net revenue from its oil exports dropped from 524.5 million dinars in 1981 to 488 million dinars in 1982.

Oman

Compared with other Arab Gulf countries, Oman appears to be the least prepared for facing the challenges caused by the drop in its oil revenue. It

is still on the threshold of building its essential infrastructure. The overwhelming portion of its population still survives on fishing, livestock raising and on pursuing traditional agriculture such as growing dates and grain. However, this does not mean that the country has not employed its oil revenue in the fields of development. Between 1975-1980 the gross national product rose an average of 20 percent a year, reaching \$5 billion. But it must be mentioned that, on the whole, the basic needs of the Sultanate are still those of a developing country whose military spending absorbs 42 percent of its annual budget.

In the middle of 1982, Oman's official estimates of its oil revenue was 12 percent less than what was needed to achieve a balanced budget. This suggests that the new reduction in the price of oil will increase the country's budget deficit at a time when it has become more difficult than in the past to obtain Arab financial aid.

United Arab Emirates

The Arab Emirates' budget deficit for 1982 amounted to more than \$1 billion. Official estimates of the deficit first had been put at approximately \$626 million. The new reduction in the price of oil will definitely add to the existing deficit.

Under these conditions, the government is being driven to consider borrowing from international money markets, to impose new taxes and to lower its subsidies on electricity and fuel. News from Abu Dhabi indicates that the government will follow a tough policy whereby it will squeeze spending without resorting to introducing stiff austerity measures. Indeed, the government already has notified its ministries and official agencies that their spending must be cut by 50 percent of their appropriated budgets. This notice was accompanied by news that told of the possibility of putting a freeze on salaries and wages.

Regarding development projects in general, the state has taken measures to freeze a number of its construction projects. However, it has indicated that military spending will not be affected by the austerity measures due to the fact that work has already begun on implementing the plan for modernizing the armed forces.

The high-keyed volume of Gulf spending on its development projects makes prediction of the result of introducing significant cuts in the level of government spending of the Arab oil countries very difficult. If consideration is given to the high percentage contribution made by the Gulf public sector toward its gross national product, it may then be possible to deduce why the Gulf governments themselves should bear the burden of the consequences of lowered oil revenue on the Gulf national economy as a whole. These governments should ultimately be able to guide their respective economies through the proper channels in order to guarantee self-sufficiency for the Gulf as a whole in the future.

Despite the appreciable achievements attained by the Gulf countries in the field of industrialization, it should be pointed out that, except for Saudi Arabia to a limited degree, the existing opportunities for additional industrial investment seems very limited. These countries are suffering from shrinking markets and from a high expatriate labor force which in some of them exceeds the indigenous population. The great number of foreign labor now working in these countries will be the first candidates to be placed in jeopardy and will have to bear the brunt of any retrenchment in internal development.

In addition, the absence of coordination between the Gulf countries has created some unexpected problems in the whole field of industrial development, but more specifically in non-oil industrial projects. This has compounded the problem and made it more difficult to market Gulf industrial products and has contributed to the reluctance of the private sector for investment in the industrial projects.

The limited opportunities available for investment of private capital in the majority of the Gulf countries also contribute to the problem. It leads prospective Gulf investors to transfer the greater part of their liquid assets abroad.

The present delicate phase of changing economic conditions in the Arab oil countries underline more than in any other period in the past the importance of encouraging the private sector to consider carefully internal investment risks, especially in the sectors of non-oil industries and services. Ultimately, it is necessary for the Gulf governments to create favorable conditions and the right climate for local investors to invest at home and prosper.

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CSO: 4404/323

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

UNIFORM PASSPORTS FOR GCC COUNTRIES--An official source at the Interior Ministry has affirmed to AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM that an agreement has been reached to issue a uniform passport for the GCC citizens. The source said the agreement was reached during the meetings which were held by the GCC directors of passports and nationality in Riyadh. The source indicated that the decision has been urgently referred to the GCC secretariat so that it will be presented at the forthcoming GCC interior ministers meeting for a final decision. [Text] [GFO21505 Kuwait AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 1 May 83 p 1]

CSO: 4400/523

'HERALD TRIBUNE' REPORT ON ARMENIAN CAUSE REFUTED

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 18 Mar 83 p 5

[Article, published under the heading "The Foreign Press on Armenian Terrorism," by Varuzhan: "Deceit Has no Boundary: About the HERALD TRIBUNE Article Entitled 'The Armenians: Roots of Terrorism'"]

[Text] During the decades of peaceful demands along the road of obtaining the rights of the Armenian people, generally speaking the international press passed over the Armenian Question in silence, noting it among the ranks of forgotten centuries. A decade following rebirth of the armed liberation struggle, members of the international press vie with one another in presenting the Armenians and their Cause to world public opinion.

A simple statistical count shows that in recent years articles concerning the Armenian Question appearing in the international press have not only increased in number but also in volume, guided by the attitude of the press and the article's author toward the Armenian Question.

We are all well aware of the attitude of the Turkish press toward the Armenian Question. The Turkish press reflects the bankrupt and immoral attitude of the Turkish fascist leaders. Concerned over rekindling of the Armenian Question and the extinguishing of hopes for a just resolution of this question, the Turkish press resorts to phony theses and slogans which not only are unacceptable in the journalistic domain but are unforgivable for an author who is conscious of dignity or worth. The anti-Armenian propaganda of the Turkish press is grounded on distortions and mud-slinging against the Armenian people, which not only lack simple or superficial objectivity but even lack any logic whatsoever. We can understand the position taken by the Turkish fascist leaders and their spokesman, the Turkish press, which is a last hopeless attempt to distort the substance of the Armenian Question and an unsuccessful attempt to evade justice.

We cannot understand, however, the negative attitude on the part of a number of representatives of the press enjoying international prestige, or even the righteous indignation and rage on the part of the Turks toward the Armenian Question. In this instance we are not referring to the policy of ignoring, which has been adopted by many, or an attempt to present the Armenian demands as hopeless at this stage, while acknowledging the existence of the Armenian Question. We are speaking of those newspapers which, momentarily forgetting about the international reputation they enjoy, resort to such anti-Armenian

propaganda, which is nothing but an imitation of the immoral thrust adopted by the Turkish press.

In general the international daily newspaper HERALD TRIBUNE adopts such an approach, reaching the very heights of the Turkish righteous-indignation thrust of anti-Armenian propaganda, with an article dealing with Turkey in its 10 March 1983 supplement.

A cursory reading of the article leaves the impression that the article's author has not made the slightest attempt to be objective, and to bolster his conclusions, he has cited authors who are allegedly familiar with the Armenian Question. We shall not turn to this aspect of the distortions, which attempt to portray the Armenian fighters as criminals and extremists who allegedly express the anti-Turkish sentiments of only a minority of Armenians and who are being exploited by the forces standing behind international terrorism. We are all familiar with the Turkish righteous-indignation propaganda on this score.

"Armenian-Turkish relations have always been very close," states the author of the HERALD TRIBUNE article and, to bolster his opinion, he calls the Istanbul Armenians to witness. The Sultan had bestowed upon the Armenian people the title of "loyal nation." This statement is correct, but why did the correspondent neglect to state which sultan had bestowed this title and in which century? Why had he ignored the fact that in the 19th century and up to 1915 Armenian-Turkish relations were not only not close but that the Ottoman leaders, and especially Sultan Abdul Hamid, had methodically proceeded to exterminate the Armenian people? Although the author of the article mentions a little-known book by Frederick Greene, which discusses the Hamidian massacres of 1895-96.

One thing that is clear in this HERALD TRIBUNE article is the fact that the author has endeavored at all costs to remain faithful to the false Turkish position and, toward this end, has also remained faithful to the unobjective and illogical trend of the Turkish press. The principal aim of the article's author was to state the question of what exactly took place in 1915 and to what extent are correct claims by the Armenian people that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred. The author shows from the very outset that his conclusions will coincide with the Turkish view.

Journalistic ethics, and objectivity in particular, demanded that the author refer to many reliable sources of that period, with which he certainly is acquainted, but for reasons with which we are all acquainted has ignored them and, in order to pretend to have made a discovery, cites a work by a person by the name of Hasan Arfa, written in 1966, in which the author of this "study" about the Kurds also touched upon... the Armenian Question. The false statements by this unknown writer are cited with the obvious intention to distort history, distortions which prior to Arfa's revelation are credited to Turkish experts at falsification. According to Arfa, in 1915 a total of 700,000 Armenians were living in "Eastern Turkey," the majority of whom died during the deportation. The Turks accept this view. Therefore the author of the HERALD TRIBUNE article not only accepts this statement but asks a rhetorical question: if the number of Armenians was 700,000, how can it be that 1.5 million Armenians were massacred?

In order to demonstrate the crude objectivity of his view, the author of the article cites Greene's book, which was published in 1896. Is this really a revelation? Of course not. The source is indeed reliable and gives testimony not about the massacres of 1915 but rather the 1895-96 Hamidian massacres, which claimed 300,000 Armenians as victims. The author of the the HERALD TRIBUNE article even goes so far as to reflect and reveal that reality in the book that the killing of Armenians by the Turks began long before 1915, but he attempts to use the Armenian population number 600,000 mentioned in the source to demonstrate that in 1915 the number of Armenians living in "Eastern Turkey" could not have been 2 million, 70 percent of whom were victims of the Genocide. Greene is very clear on this point: he states that the 600,000 Armenians living in Turkish Armenia represented only one fourth of the total number of Armenians living in Turkey. If the author of the HERALD TRIBUNE article wished to use his powers of logic, he would note that in 1896 approximately 2.4 million Armenians were residing in Turkey, a figure which naturally should have been much larger in 1915. We shall now ask the author of the article why he does not state the Armenian population in 1915 as 3 million, for example, rather than 2 million? It is quite obvious that prior to 1915 the Armenian people were subjected to massacres on numerous occasions, while in 1915 genocide was conducted against the Armenian population living throughout Turkey. Is the author of the HERALD TRIBUNE article ignorant, or does he think that he can fool is readers?

The author of the HERALD TRIBUNE article is not ignorant, and he is certainly well aware of his attempts at distortion. But that is what is demanded of him. It is demanded of him (and of the newspaper) by Turkish capital, which has succeeded in buying not only the conscience of the author of this article, but in many instances his ability to utilize logic as well.

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CSO: 4605/42

FUNDAMENTALISM IN MAGHREB COUNTRIES EXAMINED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 9, 27 Apr 83 p 6

[Text]

The three other Maghreb countries - Tunisia, Morocco and Mauritania - are feeling the pressure of fundamentalist Islam from the Middle East. Though activist Islamic movements are still relatively marginal, they channel popular discontent in poor urban areas and in the countryside. The Maghreb has an average birth rate of about 3.3% a year, and over half of the inhabitants are less than 18 years old. Thus there is fertile recruiting ground for extremist Muslim preachers. Rapid economic modernisation, shifting social values, widening wealth differences and the inability to integrate a large share of the youth into the modern sectors of the economy have all contributed to legitimising fundamentalist demands for radical change. Traditional Maghreb Islam, known for its puritanism and intransigence, is anyhow not far removed from some fundamentalist demands.

Neither President Habib Bourguiba's pro-western modernism, President Chadli Benjedid's radical, nationalist socialism, King Hassan's conservative traditionalism nor President Mohammed Khouni Ould Haidalla's pragmatic military regime has succeeded in stemming the fundamentalist advance. Overtures and even concessions to "moderate" Islamic leaders have been made, but many observers reckon that they are both too little and too late. Other ploys used to counter the Islamic tide is the playing off of pro-Iranian and pro-Saudi groups, even to the extent of employing Iraq's secular Ba'athist ideology.

Tunisia is most threatened by fundamentalist Islam. President Bourguiba has gone the farthest in secularising the body politic and legal system: polygamy is forbidden, women can be seen directing traffic in central Tunis and alcohol is freely available. With the failure of the trade union movement to gain greater social justice and the stick given to opposition political parties, the Islamic movement is perceived in many quarters as the only potential locomotive for popular change in the post-Bourguiba period.

The leading fundamentalist current is *Le Mouvement de la Tendance Islamique* (MTI), headed by Rachid Ghannouchi and Abdel Fatah Mourou. Both were given long jail sentences in 1981. Both are now regarded as martyrs and have received the support of even Marxist parties. The MTI itself is divided into two factions: a radical-populist current which publishes the journal "IS-21" and a "conservative-mystical" current close to landed potentates. A key figure, perhaps capable of regaining the consensus within MTI, Habib Mekni, has lived in France for the last few years and has shunned appeals to return to Tunisia to fill the leadership gap. The MTI meanwhile has adopted a low profile, although it continues to recruit from universities and informal mosques.

Other Islamic movements in Tunisia include the progressive-oriented, *Mouvement Islamique Progressiste* (MIP), which is based on Iran's *Mojahidine-Khalq* movement. It is headed by Salah Jourchi and Ahmed Ennifar, grandson of 82-year-old Mohammed

Salah Ennifar, an historical Islamic traditionalist with considerable prestige. MIP has recently cooperated with the *Errai* group (AC Vol 23 No 21) behind minister of foreign affairs, Beji Cald Essebsi.

The *Parti Islamique de la Choura (PIC-Concertation)* has lost practically all influence since its leader, Hassan Ghodhafi, was condemned for illicit financial dealings. The secretive *Avant-Garde Islamique* and *le parti de la Libération Islamique*, both underground movements, are probably marginal.

Morocco, so far, has been the least touched of the North African states by the Islamic tide, even though the *Frères Musulmans* have recently shown their influence in the bidonvilles, schools and armed forces. In many ways, Morocco's still powerful traditionalist customs provide a buffer against fundamentalism. King Hassan has the official title of Emir Al Mouminine, literally the commander of the faithful, and also claims descent in direct line from the prophet. Strong links with Saudi Arabia and its generosity to Moroccan Islamic leaders has helped keep mainstream religion under close ideological and political control.

Since coming to power in Mauritania in 1980 President Haidalla has actively sought to circumscribe militant Islam by coopting many of its basic demands. Thus the Islamic *charia* (fundamental law) presides over legal procedures in the country. More recently, Friday was proclaimed the official day of rest, replacing Christian Sunday. Leading Islamic personalities in the country include Boudh Ould Bensserri, Iman of the Nouakchott mosque, Abdou Mahame, head of the local branch of the Muslim Brotherhood and Ely Cheikh, Haidalla's own marabout (religious guide). Most of the influential religious leaders are also close to the exiled *Alliance pour une Mauritanie Démocratique (AMD)*, so relations with the government are often ambiguous. (AC Vol 24 No 6). Likewise, Saudi Arabia's petro-dollar handouts tend to keep Mauritanian Islam beyond the reach of the more radical Iranian version.

CSO: 4500/209

CHADLI BENDJEDID'S DOMESTIC POLICIES ASSESSED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 9, 27 Apr 83 pp 5-7

[Text]

Life for the average Algerian has improved since Chadli Benjedid became president four years ago. Economic priorities have been reassessed and political debate opened up. It has meant more schools, hospitals, houses and food; capital investment has broadly been redirected from heavy to light industry, with a parallel liberalising of the private sector so as to create more jobs, particularly in the light manufacturing and services sector. Chadli's regional foreign policy, notably the rapprochement with Morocco (AC Col 24 No 8) and Tunisia, is linked closely to his preoccupation with the economy: Algeria could buy Moroccan food and Tunisian manufacturers.

Politically his consolidation has been progressive, and successful. (For an earlier analysis see AC Vol 22 No 23). The key to this consolidation was the dissembling of much of the traditional military-security apparatus. It will be recalled that at the end of 1980 Chadli eased out of security matters the much feared Col. Kasdi Merbah (president Boumedienne's security chief. Chadli demoted him from vice-minister of defence to minister of heavy industries). A year later Nouredine Zergouni, head of Sécurité Militaire, was replaced by Col. Moujboud Lekehal, former commander of the sixth military region and a close confidant of Chadli. (AC Vol 23 No 3). And last October there were several other changes in military postings (AC Vol 23 No 23). Critical to the changes was the eclipse of Col. Mohammed Yahiaoui. (A contender in the race to succeed Boumedienne, Yahiaoui favoured even more radical socialism than he did, and hence favoured close relations with Gaddafi's Libya).

Until last summer Chadli's policy was to treat radicalism and Muslim fundamentalists with kid

gloves in an effort to slowly reach national consensus. The soft approach also enabled a checking of those close to the *Parti de l'Avant Garde de la Révolution Socialiste*, the *Communist Party* in disguise, which was very active throughout Boumedienne's tenure of office. But after a hold-up by fundamentalists last autumn at the military barracks at Cape Djinet, near Algiers, the security apparatus was ordered to clamp down hard on fundamentalists. In December a large fundamentalist network was arrested.

Despite President Chadli's attempt to play up to Islamic expectations in Algeria by encouraging a mosque building programme (there are now more than 5000 in the country), nominating personalities close to fundamentalist ranks to government posts and allowing a certain liberty in the expression of Islamic thought, the gap has been growing between fundamentalists and the regime. Clashes between "Marxist-Leninist" and fundamentalist students in January at Ben-Akroun university outside Algiers, led to several deaths.

Last year the proposed "family code" (AC Vol 23 No 21) sought to modernise traditional discrimination against women, and there was an attempt to replace the secular notion of the *nation* with the religious concept of the *Umma*, or Islamic community, under the fashionable concept of *Asala*, or authenticity. The driving forces behind the failed attempt to introduce the code were Abderrahmane Chibane, minister for religious affairs; Boualem Bakl, minister of justice and Boualem Ben Hamouda, minister of the interior. Under their influence the state publishing house, SNED, even published a book written by Cheik Abdellatif Ali Soltumi whose line was contrary to the official FLN position on religious affairs.

The government meanwhile tries to maintain tight control over official religious institutions. For example, *le Haut Conseil Islamique* has its members appointed by the regime, and the Imans (priests) are all paid by the central government. Likewise, attempts are made to counter the fundamentalist wing through a more progressive Islamic grouping based on the reformist *Ulémas* movement of the 1930-40s centred around the nationalist Cheik Abdel Hamid Ben Badis. The ideologue of today's current is Mohammed Elmilli, ambassador to Athens. Other members include Ahmed Brahim Taleb, brother of the minister of planning; Salim Sadi, minister of agriculture; Abdelrazzak Bouhara, minister of health; Magid Meziane, minister of culture; and diplomats Redha Malek and Mustapha Lachraf.

The main fear of Islamic progressives in Algiers is that ex-president Ahmed Ben Bella, now living in Switzerland, will attempt to use the fundamentalist's

organisation to oppose the government. It would not be surprising if Ben Bella set up a new party with strong fundamentalist backing, and subtle encouragement from Libya. With over a million Algerian migrant workers living in France and Belgium, Ben Bella's partisans have a ready-made constituency.

While obviously Muslim fundamentalism worries the government, it is unlikely to threaten significantly its stability - provided unemployment is kept well in check.

On the other hand the Berber problem, which provoked such serious trouble three years ago, has become fairly manageable as a result of political liberalisation. Certain manifestations of non-Arab cultural values are of course now allowed, not least in the increasingly important television media. And the regime today is much more dominated by eastern Algerians, many of whom are intermarried with Kabyles. Many of the latter now have the education and money to establish small companies. Private sector liberalisation and a soft approach has certainly paid off even if the roots of the Berber problem remain.

It should also be noted that Mohammed Hadj Yala, minister of the interior, and one of the key people in the regime, is a Kabyle. With a wide international experience, he was well equipped to play the prominent role in the rapprochement with Tunisia. Chadli's visit to Tunis last month was clearly a success. Frontier difficulties have been conclusively resolved, and the joint Algerian-Tunisian-owned *Banque pour la Cooperation du Maghreb Arabe* (established in 1981) now has some realistic projects to tackle.

The other major facet to Chadli's consolidation hinges on the eclipse from power of those closely associated with Belaid Abdessalam, Boumedienne's economics overlord from 1965 to 1978. In the process many parastatal directors have been shunted to the side-lines. Those such as Mohamed Guendouz, for many years head of the shipping company CNAN, and Sid Ahmed Ghozali, former minister of energy, have vanished from public life. Together with Ghozali went many senior officials from the state oil company, *Sonatrach*. Vendettas within the latter continue still.

The turmoil in at the top management level of the economy has at least left policies in the crucial energy sector intact. Belkacem Nabi, minister of energy since 1979, continued his predecessor's policy of diversifying hydrocarbon exports (oil, gas, condensates, LNG etc.) Last year Algeria's total income did not decline from its 1981 level of about \$13 bn. And, contrary to the trend, Algeria has not borrowed

from the capital markets since January 1980; debt service has now fallen to below 30% of export receipts.

Few of those cast out of industry have been brought back. In time some of them may be. A number of diplomats sidelined in 1979 are back: they include, for example, the recently appointed ambassador to Moscow, **Ali Chellal** and Chadli's adviser on Arab affairs, **Lakhdaz Brahimi**. The only recent purge of significance was the well-reported arrest two months ago of businessman **Mohamed Zeghar**. His forthcoming trial by a military court will shed much light on events during the last 15 years.

CSO: 4500/208

ALGERIAN-TUNISIAN JOINT COMMITTEE MEETS

PM131100 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 26 Apr 83 pp 1, 16

[APS report: "Fourth Session of Algerian-Tunisian Grand Joint Committee"]

[Excerpt] Algiers [no date given]--A communique was released to the press in Algiers Sunday evening at the end of the proceedings of the fourth session of the Algerian-Tunisian Joint Committee. The text of the communique is as follows:

"Within the framework of the policy of fraternity and good-neighborliness and in accordance with the spirit of coordination and cooperation between Algeria and Tunisia, proceeding from the shared faith and united destinies of the fraternal Algerian and Tunisian peoples and in implementation of the recommendations of the presidents of the two countries, His Excellency President Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Republic and secretary general of the FLN Party, and His Excellency the Supreme Combatant President Habib Bourguiba, the Algerian-Tunisian Grand Joint Committee held its fourth session in Algiers 23-24 April 1983 under the joint chairmanship of Messrs M'hamed Yala, member of the Politburo and minister of the interior of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, and Beji Caid Es-Sebsi, member of the Destourian Socialist Party Politburo and minister of foreign affairs of the Tunisian republic, and with the attendance of two high-ranking delegations, representing all the ministries concerned with cooperation.

"During this session a comprehensive assessment was made of cooperation and of ways of strengthening it and raising it to the level of both peoples' aspirations for the prosperity, progress, and building of the Greater Arab Maghreb, which has always been the supreme objective of the shared struggle.

"The Joint Committee completed its proceedings with the signing of a number of important agreements, including a consular treaty, an industrial cooperation agreement, a protocol agreement for cooperation between the Algerian Central Bank and the Tunisian Bank and a protocol agreement between the two countries' treasuries.

"It was also agreed to establish in the border regions joint industries specializing in the production of white cement, utopane, and diesel motors. Development projects in the agriculture, water supply, health, education, and social fields are also envisaged for the border regions.

"These projects lie within the framework of the materialization of the shared desire to transform the borders into a meeting place for the populations of the area, where mutual interests will be satisfied.

"This meeting gave the chairmen of the two delegations an opportunity to review the international economic and political situation and the crisis confronting the world, especially the Third World.

"The chairmen of the two delegations stressed, in this connection, the need to carry out bilateral cooperation in all fields and to step up efforts to extend it to the Greater Arab Maghreb.

"The Algerian-Tunisian Grand Joint Committee decided to instruct its five subcommittees to further examine the matters of concern to each of them and elements emerging from periodic meetings to be held in both countries. These subcommittees must submit reports of their activities to regular session of the Grand Joint Committee."

CSO: 4500/211

ALGIERS PAPER SUMS UP ABDELGHANI BENIN VISIT

PM130911 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 29-30 Apr 83 pp 1, 16

[APS report: "Algerian and Benin Stress Areas of Agreement"]

[Text] Cotonou [no date given]--Prime Minister and Politburo Member Mohamed Benahmed Abdelghani left Cotonou Thursday afternoon for Sao Tome and Principe at the end of a 2-day visit to Benin.

Before his departure Mr Abdelghani had a final meeting with President Mathieu Kerekou. A press communique was issued on the prime minister's visit to Benin. The text of that document is as follows:

"At the invitation of the central authorities of the party and revolutionary state of the People's Republic of Benin, Mr Mohamed Benahmed Abdelghani, member of the National Liberation Front Politburo and prime minister, made a friendly working visit to the People's Republic of Benin on 27 and 28 April at the head of a large FLN Party and Algerian Government delegation.

"The Algerian prime minister was welcomed on his arrival in Cotonou by Mr Romain Vilon Guezo, member of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Revolutionary National Assembly Permanent Council.

"During his visit to the People's Republic of Benin Mr Abdelghani had talks with the Benin authorities on questions of common interest relating to the international political situation and bilateral cooperation."

These talks took place in an atmosphere of fraternity, friendship, and mutual understanding, which enabled the two sides to note with satisfaction the similarity of views on most of the problems discussed.

With regard to the international political situation the Algerian prime minister had talks with the Benin authorities on the main current problems, especially the political situation in the Maghreb, central and southern Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America.

On the basis of the information supplied to it the Benin side welcomed the initiatives taken by Algeria toward neighboring states aimed at establishing detente and peace in the region, taking account of the Saharan people's legitimate aspirations to independence and sovereignty. To this end an urgent appeal was launched to the two parties in the conflict to start direct negotiations leading to a rapid settlement.

With regard to the other problems raised, the completely identical views which emerged from the analyses made enabled the two sides to take practical measures aimed at maintaining and strengthening international peace and security.

In the sphere of bilateral cooperation the Algerian and Benin authorities expressed satisfaction at the positive and harmonious development of the cooperation which exists between their two countries and reaffirming their readiness to make every effort to make this cooperation more dynamic and more fruitful.

In this framework they reaffirmed their complete support for the just resolutions which emerged from the seventh conference of nonaligned heads of state and of government held in New Delhi in March 1983 aimed at strengthening south-south cooperation.

During his visit to Benin Mr Mohamed Benahmed Abdelghani was granted an audience by President Mathieu Kerekou, head of state and chairman of the National Executive Council, to whom he handed a personal message from President Chadli Bendjedid.

The Algerian prime minister had the opportunity to visit the Possotome mineral water factory--the fruit of Benin-Algerian cooperation.

At the end of his visit to the People's Republic of Benin the prime minister expressed to the Benin people and to the Benin party and state central authorities his thanks and gratitude for the fraternal and warm welcome which was given to him and to the delegation accompanying him.

It should also be noted that during its visit the Algerian delegation met with Benin officials and experts to assess bilateral relations and to examine the situation following the joint commission's recent meeting last February.

CSO: 4500/211

REFORM, POTENTIAL, ROLE OF ALGIERS UNIVERSITY EXAMINED

Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 6-7, 9-11 Apr 83

[Article by 'Abd-al-Jalil Jilali]

[6 Apr 83 p 11]

[Text] Algiers University in 1983 is most certainly not a colonialist university. It does not have the students, professors and programs of a colonialist university, nor are the objectives of its research activities suspect. Ever since its reorganization in 1962 Algiers University has been striving to increase the capacity for learning among the largest number of its students. Therefore, in the past 20 years the university has tried to be effective in pursuing its main function in society. New generations of highly competent young people have graduated from it. Despite its substantial achievements, the university is still suffering from some shortcomings.

The treatment of these and other shortcomings is taking up much of the attention of the university's new superintendents who are trying to improve the quality of education without limiting the quantity. They are trying to incorporate more major areas of study into the university's various branches of learning. This explains the introduction of the Institute of Islamic Studies and the Institute of Physical Education. There is now a separate school of pharmacy that is independent of the Institute of Medical Sciences. The university will also have its own research centers and its various institutes. We met several times with the president of the university and with his vice presidents, and we talked about these new directions for the university whose objective is to make the university not merely an academic institution, but also an educational and a cultural one that is receptive to society and is affected by its events. This dialogue was an attempt to define the features of the new image which the university is trying to achieve for the future.

Like all institutions of higher learning the university has an administration which is run by the president who is assisted by four vice presidents. They prepare the agenda for the university's board of directors which consists of the president, the deans of the university's 16 institutes, the director of the library and representatives of the students and the union. The university's board of directors meets in regular session once a month, and it holds emergency meetings when that becomes a matter of urgent necessity. At those meetings the university's policy is determined, questions about administrative and financial

operations and the budget are discussed and pedagogical problems, including graduate studies and scientific inquiry, are taken up. This does not mean, however, that the university's board of directors does not turn into a disciplinary board when that becomes necessary. There are some drawbacks, however, in the makeup of the board. Student and union representation is practically nonexistent, and controls for the board have not yet been determined. Also the fundamental makeup of the board lacks an official character in anticipation of the appointment of vice presidents of the university. The case is the same regarding the deans of institutes who do not have a clear charter regulating their work and defining their administrative status.

The University Was a Colonialist Stronghold

It may be useful here to go back a little and review briefly the founding of the university and its suspect aims following independence. Algiers University is considered one of the oldest universities in our country. It was founded in 1901, and it is the only university that we inherited from the colonialist age. It used to be a French university in every respect: in its programs, its faculty and its students--500 registered students in 1961. The university was designated to serve the objectives of colonialists and to teach their children. Very few Algerians, the children of the fortunate, [were enrolled in that university]. Even those Algerians withdrew from the university after the strike of 19 May 1956 and did not return to classes. [Illegible word] most Algerian students who were studying in French universities. Some of them continued their studies in other countries as recipients of scholarships organized by the National Liberation Front Party and the provisional government after the Revolution took over the affairs of students.

It is known that Algiers University used to be thought as third among French universities after the University of Paris and Lyons. It had its distinguished academic standing, particularly in the disciplines of medicine and law. It was tantamount to a research and scientific center, and it played a historical role as a stronghold for colonialism in the area of Oriental Studies; in codifying, rationalizing and consolidating colonialism and in serving the interests of settlers and the ruling government. All issues of the specialized periodicals which the university used to publish can still be found at the university library. These include various studies about Algeria and its people who cannot be developed. THE AFRICAN MAGAZINE, THE SAHRAWI STUDIES MAGAZINE and other periodicals indicate quite clearly the real role which Algiers University played during the age of colonialism.

Despite the mass exodus of the university's administrative staff and faculty immediately after independence, operations at the university did not stop. The university rather continued its functions with 450 students who enrolled in October 1962. Most of these students were Algerians. However, there was only a handful of Algerian professors, except in medicine where there was a large number of them. Although the university was [eventually] able to get itself out of the isolation from which it suffered, with the number of its students growing every year, it continued to exist in an ivory tower, divorced from the reality of the country and from the country's urgent requirements for comprehensive and rapid development.

Academic Reform

Academic reform was an urgent solution to get the university out of its isolation. It included the basic principles of making higher education democratic and giving it an Algerian and an Arab character. This would make the university more receptive to the reality of life which is directed totally toward comprehensive development. This would make the university play a basic role in that development so that the various cadres which are needed by the country can be met.

There is no doubt that academic reform, which included radical reforms in the educational, theoretical and applied aspects of education that are consistent with the country's scientific, cultural, economic and social requirements, did set the broad guidelines for the educational system and for its function and its objectives. The guidelines that were set for university registration, educational stages, examination and research systems and for the process of making the theoretical sciences merge with practical application to form an integrated unit in all disciplines of learning ultimately brought about more equality in opportunities to join the university and to pursue a university education.

In the context of academic reform curricula were changed, and the average length of study became eight semesters. Some lengthy academic disciplines, such as medicine, had 12 semesters plus other periods of study that are considered preparatory stages or internships. Reform also led to the participation of professors and student representatives in pedagogic committees to determine the systems and courses of study. In addition, reform sought to increase the number of university professors as well as increase the number of student slots. This is what one notices in the creation of a master's degree program. However, the large increase in the number of students, an increase that was made possible by academic reform, led in one respect to the retrenchment of Algiers University's professional and scientific capabilities and its qualitative competence. It is known that the application of reform requires the use of large, human and material capabilities which the university was not able to provide fully.

Reform also sought to increase the number of university professors and to increase the number of student slots in all stages. One notices that this is what was done when the master's degree program was adopted and the old French system was abolished.

Negative and Positive Aspects of Reform

Regarding the application of academic reform and the difficulties which Algiers University faced during the reform process, Dr Muhammad al-Saghir Banani, vice president of the university for pedagogic and student affairs, says [the following]: "Academic reform may be considered a historical change in the university's pedagogy. It was instituted to make the university receptive to the reality of life and to meet the country's needs for staff. If the reform plan is an ambitious one as far as Arab countries are concerned, some of the shortcomings that emerged do not lie in the reform itself, but rather in the dearth of resources, particularly since the rapid increase in the number of students was not accompanied by a similar growth in available resources.

"Nevertheless, we can cite concrete examples of some of the results realized by reform. The old French system, as far as students of the English Department were

concerned, allowed students to become proficient in the English language and literature. They knew a great deal about the culture, the history and the civilization of that language, but in most cases they were unable to carry on a conversation in English. Reform brought about a new system that gave students enough time and opportunity to practice the language in its written form and its spoken form. Reform did the same thing in the medical discipline where we find that practical was one of the most important characteristics made available by the reform. Starting with his third year a medical student would begin to practice medicine. It is true that hospitals are now full and cannot hire this large number of students, but our studies have shown that the study of medicine involves the practice of medicine. There is no system similar to this one in the world. Naturally, the large number of students we have in medical school will not help [us] maintain these practical conditions in the course of studying medicine, since such a large number of students would reduce the resources that students would have to have to practice medicine early, particularly since hospital construction has not kept in step with the growing numbers of students.

"Hence we notice that the advantage of reform lies in the fact that it has concentrated on the practical aspect of education. The hours of actual practice, which according to the old system consisted of 10 hours a week, are now between 20 and 25 hours, particularly in applied work [in the field]. This is a process that necessarily requires a large number of professors.

"In general, I may say that reform in the pedagogical sense was fully applied. If there are shortcomings, they appear in the administration since the university failed to develop an administrative system that would be fitting for the number of students. Also the full success of this reform can only come about by providing the adequate number of lecture halls, teaching assistants and professors. This is because reform is basically a system of units that is based on a small number of students—an associate professor for each 10 students. Because these resources are not available as required, it is natural that their absence would affect quality."

In evaluating academic reform, a process which is considered inevitable today, we must proceed in such a fashion so as to develop and further that reform, and we are to take into account the assumptions and the new factors of the application process. This requires that there be agreement [on dealing with the university's] shortcomings, including the fact that some students are turning to certain disciplines in particular and not to others. And here, in his reply to all the questions and inquiries that were raised about the subject of reform, Dr Sulayman al-Shaykh, president of the university affirms, "The application of academic reform in Algiers University in accordance with the staff the country needs for its development is considered a good example. Today, we see that democracy in education is manifesting itself in the fact that there are now 100,000 students in the university. Great strides have also been made in making education Algerian: in the disciplines of medicine, pharmacy and dentistry all our faculty are Algerians; in philosophy, history and law most of the faculty are Algerians. In other disciplines, Algerians make up between 70 and 90 percent of the faculty. As far as Arabization is concerned, that process has gone into its third year with regard to the humanities and the social sciences. By the end of next year the entire syllabus will have been Arabized.

Naturally, we find that some tendencies have emerged and taken shape in past years as a result of development trends in our country and the advantages that some disciplines provide in the employment markets. These tendencies go against the spirit of reform, and the most dangerous of them are those which are supported by the students' parents. These are concentrated around some disciplines: primarily around the medical and pharmaceutical sciences and dentistry, and secondarily around law, financial subjects and automated data processing. Unfortunately, there are some measures that reinforce these tendencies, such as Law No 494 for 1982 which was issued on 18 December 1982. This law distinguishes between the salaries of medical, pharmaceutical and dentistry professors and professors in other disciplines. These differences make the salary of a medical student in residence equal to the salary of a mathematics or a sociology professor. Thus the salary of a university professor who teaches medicine is two and a half times greater than the salary of a professor in any other discipline. Therefore it is not curious to find some university professors of chemistry and physics re-enrolling in the university to study biology. The solution, of course, lies in a policy of wages: the salaries of professors in other disciplines have to be raised. Those professors can make a contribution: in addition to carrying out their academic work, they can strengthen the wheels of economic, social and cultural activity in the country.

"To put it briefly, the question of academic guidance is being raised at the present time with urgency. I believe that the time has come for assuming the responsibilities for this guidance which must be consistent with making contributions in the interests of the country.

"Regarding your inquiries about reviewing academic reform, [I would say that] we must evaluate that reform before we review it. We are in the course of doing just that, and [we will complete that task] before we make a judgment on the reform and before we take measures to change some of its aspects. The Ministry of Education and Scientific Research is in the course of carrying out this evaluation. Several committees have been formed for that purpose, but this does not mean that there was no previous follow-up of the reform process. Starting this year several changes have been made in the programs and contents of these programs; classes have also been designated for each discipline to make them more consistent and congruent with the capabilities of a 4-year bachelor's degree program. We have gone back to the annual examination system in the first year, and we've kept the unit system where reform is being concentrated. But the evaluation is to take place at the end of the year, and this will increase efficiency. It is an attempt to reduce the number of minor matters that take up much of students' and professors' efforts and time."

[7 Apr 83 p 11]

[Text] Arabization is considered one of the main principles on which academic reform is based. This fact manifested itself in the decision to Arabize the social sciences. Today, after 2 years of Arabizing common core subjects, the third and decisive year in the process has begun. Very specific disciplines, such as standard economics, clinical psychology and speech pathology are being Arabized. Despite some difficulties and obstacles which will be diminished next year with the Arabization of different bachelor's degree programs in the social sciences, there are numerous indications affirming most definitely the success of

that process. But it seems that there is no immediate plan yet for [what would have to be done] after the Arabization of the social sciences is completed. There seems to be no plan yet for going ahead with Arabizing the intricate and medical subjects which are considered the key to real success. This process is not that difficult since the language of instruction in intricate and medical subjects is not like that which is used in the social sciences. The language of instruction used in the social sciences is full of highly specialized terms, and an instructor must be well versed in the language and its methods. But intricate and medical subjects do not require such a linguistic wealth [of terms] because they rely on a limited number of scientific terms and expressions that can easily be mastered and used in the process of instruction. This then would make Arabization of these subjects easy. It is here, as we will show, that the importance and inevitability of a revolutionary, political decision emerges.

We are resuming here the dialogue we began yesterday with officials of Algiers University to find out where Arabization at the university now stands and to find out about the efforts that are being made to improve the Arabization effort and to make Algiers University a better university. But the fact that we have touched upon Arabization problems, graduate studies and other problems does not mean that these problems are confined to Algiers University and are not to be found at other universities and academic centers. In confining our discussion to Algiers University we are only trying to use it as an example of how the problems of higher education are dealt with in general. We focus here on practical questions that emerged as a result of putting Arabization into effect.

There is no doubt that significant strides have been made in the Arabization of the social sciences. That effort has gone beyond the danger period without causing a decline in standards which some skeptics had thought would happen. Quite the contrary, it is expected that standards will rise when Arabization of the faculty is completed and professors will have to conduct their various academic activities in Arabic. After 3 years in the making, however, this process may go on for a long time, as long as no fixed standards have been set for it. This is particularly true after an erroneous connection has been established between "Algerization" and Arabization. This is evident in the fact that while the present makeup of the staff is being maintained, as they earn graduate degrees in the language which they are using in their studies and upgrade their standards, the Arabization process is being delayed until these people can earn their graduate degrees.

The fact is that after taking into account the observations of a number of those who are associated with higher education which is currently being Arabized, it may be said that the Arabized staff are carrying a heavy burden and that they proved themselves to be competent. However, the process of Arabizing social studies has created an imbalance in development opportunities [for the staff]. The Arabized staff who are carrying out the Arabization process are doing that in addition to carrying a teaching load just like that they used to carry in French before [the Arabization process began]. This is because the disciplines are considered to be equal in Arabic and in French. However, staff people who were teaching in French--and the urgent need to Arabize them has emerged recently--have a lighter work load. Unfortunately, some people who are supposed to devote their total effort to the Arabization program are not. They are sometimes using that time to complete their graduate studies and to earn graduate degrees so they can get promoted on the academic scale. The same thing applies to candidates for

master's degrees and to instructors on contract. Arabic speaking instructors carry a heavy teaching load, and they do not finish their graduate programs as fast as their French colleagues can.

Such a situation would naturally affect the Arabization effort, lowering the standard of instruction of those professors who are being assigned duties that are beyond their capabilities. They are denied adequate time to develop their knowledge and complete their studies. Ultimately, this means a lowering of their standards. Besides, they feel cheated.

Therefore, responsibilities have to be clearly defined so that the Arabization process for professors does not remain open-ended forever. In other words, a maximum period must be set for a university professor to master the Arabic language. Some kind of strict control must be set up to follow up on the progress of this process and to ascertain that the time limits which have been set are being observed. This, however, cannot make us forget to mention the commendable efforts that have been made by many university professors to learn the native language.

Naturally, this process cannot deny the Arabization efforts that have been made at the university. Dr Muhammad al-Saghir Binani, vice president of the university for pedagogic and student affairs explains these efforts in detail.

Dr Binani says, "Arabization has come through an important stage at the university. It has been extended to all the disciplines, with the exception of medicine and pharmacology. We are trying to make the Arabization process real and comprehensive. This explains the special attention that is being devoted at this stage to the process of teaching professors the Arabic language. For this purpose we established a center for the intensive teaching of the Arabic language to professors, to master's degree candidates and to immigrant and foreign students in general. At the present time Arabic is the only language that is being taught at that center. Starting with the next academic year, however, foreign languages will be taught, particularly English and French. There is a plan to turn the center in the future into an independent research center for pedagogy and the teaching of languages. In addition, the center will have scholarships for professors who will be sent to some Arab countries in the east to improve their knowledge of their native language.

"I must make reference here to the fact that we cannot guarantee the full success of the Arabization process unless we determine a clear policy on translation. This explains the nature of the reforms we instituted in the School of Translation. We instituted a bachelor's degree and a master's degree in translation for the purpose of creating a sufficient number of competent translators, on the one hand. On the other hand, [we wanted] to carry out an organized qualitative translation plan that would not only benefit the university, but would also enrich the Arabic language in general. As we wait for that [to happen], we must not forget to commend the efforts that some professors made by translating their own books. At the present time the university publications office is printing and publishing these books.

"Despite the efforts that are being made and the positive results that are being confirmed by those who are carrying out the task at the university, the process will remain lacking as long as it is not being extended to the scientific

disciplines, chiefly the medical sciences. This is a process that can be done, and university officials themselves admit that; but carrying it out awaits a political decision. The Arabs have had a long history of teaching medicine. Until recently [medical] references in Arabic were a principal source of knowledge at major universities in Europe and in the United States. Also it is no longer impossible to teach medicine in Arabic particularly since there are Arab countries that have gained considerable experience in this regard. In addition, the full "Algerization" of the faculty in the institutes of medical and pharmaceutical sciences is considered a positive and a decisive factor in such a process. The Ministry of Education and Scientific Research can give Algiers University the green light to begin Arabizing the common core subjects of biological studies for the first year. Algiers University is qualified to do this because it has a fair number of Algerian professors who can lecture and teach in Arabic. These professors are prepared to translate into Arabic some units, if not full sections, of medical subjects. They would be assisted by a large number of young instructors, the students of independence who are fluent in Arabic. In addition, they would be assisted by physicians and dentists who studied in Arabic and graduated from [universities in] the Arab east. With a little cooperation from the Arabs the university can succeed in instituting parallel Arabic departments to go along with and implement the national policy of Arabizing higher education and spreading the use of the Arabic language in various areas of life. This is an essential and an urgent demand as long as there is no interest in teaching professors of these subjects Arabic. If we do not benefit from the resources in Arabic that we have and that I mentioned, and if we wait for the professors we have to learn Arabic, these subjects will not be Arabized in the near future.

"It does not make sense that after 20 years of independence when the number of students who earn [high school] diplomas from Arabic schools as science majors is almost equal to the number of students who earn those diplomas from bilingual schools--this year secondary education was 61 percent--and instruction in the native language is the reason why students are denied the pursuit of their studies in scientific disciplines such as engineering, for example. Such students want to study engineering. In most cases they have been dreaming about studying engineering since their childhood. Some students may take a risk and go on with their studies in a foreign language that is completely different from the original language in which they received instruction. Those students find major difficulties that stay with them for many years. These difficulties may cause many of them to drop out and ultimately to fail. Others who do not take that risk continue to be distressed and to feel that there is a kind of inequality of opportunity which the policy of democratizing education has been trying to avoid. We may thus be contributing to stifling the talents of Arabic speaking students among whom the ratio of the talented is not less than that among those who are in a bilingual program. Thus the country would be denied the benefits of their talents.

"On the other hand, it has been noticed that teaching the Arabic language as language is weak in the scientific disciplines of higher education, even though there is a ministerial decree, which is part of the academic reform [program], which stipulates that students must have at least 300 hours of Arabic during their academic course of study at the university. These 300 hours would either be as language instruction or courses in the students' disciplines that are taught

in Arabic. Although English is being taught regularly at the Institute of Medical Studies, the native language is not being taught to the physicians of the future who will basically use this language when they deal with their patients. This is being done under the pretext that there aren't enough academic language professors and it is not possible to utilize the services of secondary school language teachers, even though some institutes did seek the assistance of secondary school teachers to teach foreign languages such as English. Secondary school language teachers are being used in this regard because they have the experience and the know-how which instructors who have a bachelor's degree do not yet have.

"It is therefore necessary that all decisions that have been made to strengthen the course of Arabization be put into effect. All suggestions that have been made in that regard, particularly those that were made by the Arabization committee at the university, are to be adopted. Among those suggestions is a condition set by that committee that all theses written in foreign languages be translated into Arabic by their authors as a way to measure their ability to teach in Arabic, on the one hand, and to enable students to benefit from these studies, on the other hand. This condition would then become a condition for being hired and becoming a member of the faculty. However, anyone who looks at the theses that have been submitted recently in a foreign language would not even find the reform resolution being applied. That reform resolution required that a thesis written for studies that are completed in a foreign language have a summary in Arabic.

"Talking about theses leads us to touch upon the subject of scientific research, at least in passing. There will be a new surge of scientific research at the university. This scientific research ought to be tantamount to a lifeline for higher education, upgrading academic standards as a whole. Accordingly, the tool of research and communication--[that is], language--is a basic ingredient of this integrated process. Therefore, the university in its new surge for scientific research has to take into account the fact that this research must not come out in a language different from that which is used for instruction. Also the process of Arabizing the administration is still proceeding at a snail's pace. Despite assurances made by administrators about internal correspondence between the president of the university and the various institutes being in Arabic, most private documents are still written in French. This indicates that it is necessary to expedite the Arabization of various documents, reports, studies, minutes of meetings, etc."

Dr Sulayman al-Shaykh, president of the university interjected remarks here about the nature of the difficulties and the ramifications that the Arabization process is facing.

He explained this by saying, "In our discussion here we must not forget to touch upon the problems we are facing in this regard. This is because having a professor who has been trained in one language change that language and teach in another is a process that requires a long time. This is not as easy as it is thought to be. The problem may also be presented from that perspective: either we continue to teach using Algerian professors who teach in French, or we Arabize [the program] by using associate professors. This is what is being proposed with regard to Arabizing medicine. We even have a staff problem in teaching the Arabic language. Last year we tried to introduce 5 hours a week [of Arabic language instruction] for medical students, but their large number (6,000) did not permit orderly instruction. We do not have a sufficient number of teachers to teach 120

classes with 50 students in each class. From an academic standpoint, in addition to the laws regarding overtime pay, we cannot rely on secondary school teachers.

"However, I must mention here that, as you know, we are in the third year of Arabizing the social subjects. It is known that the first and second years are for common core subjects and the last 2 years are for the major course of study. This means that by next year we will have completed the Arabization of the bachelor's degree program in the social sciences. We would thus have taken a major step forward in the Arabization process because contrary to what is being thought, the difficulty in the Arabization process lies in the social sciences. The exact sciences would be easy to Arabize because they consist of a set of terms. The real problem lies in the social subjects, including the humanities, which are closely associated with individual and group life. These subjects alone can change the cultural climate and raise the general cultural standard [of the country].

"We have met with some difficulties in covering some of the disciplines, particularly recent ones that are not being taught at Arab universities or that are being taught there in a foreign language, such as orthophonic, clinical psychology and standard economics. We have in our universities a number of Algerian professors who teach these subjects in French. Today, these subjects are in the process of becoming fully taught in Arabic."

On the basis of the foregoing presentation, by referring to ideas introduced by those who supervise Algiers University and by talking with a number of university professors whom we did not wish to cite so as not to digress, we can say that the application of the political resolution made by the country's political leaders to Arabize the social sciences is basically an expression of the aspiration our people have for restoring regard to our native language and spreading its use in all areas. However, this effort requires more mobilization, care and will power so that the conditions and means for filling the various gaps can be provided and shortcomings can be eliminated. Therefore, the Arabization process must not rest on one aspect at the expense of others, which constitute an integrated whole of a crucial process. One of the most important aspects of that process is the revival and firm establishment of our Arab and Islamic culture. Accordingly, we must make a contribution to the development of the Arabic language itself, and we must make it stay in step with the spirit and developments of the age.

[9 Apr 83 p 11]

[Text] The Organization of Higher Education in our country is based on the achievement of three principles that are being sought by academic reform. We spoke about Arabization in the previous installment. Through Algiers University and its efforts we are trying to deal here with the two other principles. If significant results have been achieved at the university in making education democratic, the fact that the character of education has also become Algerian is evident from the fact that in graduate studies a master's degree has been adopted instead of the old French system which has proved to be ineffective and futile. Today, the large number of candidates for the master's degree at Algiers University exceeds educational needs at that university. That indicates that the master's degree program is beginning to show results. Its full implications will become clearer in the next few years, particularly since it is being strengthened

by the university's new trend to bear methodology in mind, to concentrate on developing scholars and begin to implement its own policy of scientific research starting with this year.

Meaningful Figures

Official statistics show that the number of students enrolled in the university this academic year is 26,664 students. The number of students enrolled in the university last year was 25,344. It is known that 650 students dropped out this year for various reasons. Last summer, on the other hand, the president's office considered the applications of 500 students from other universities and academic centers. Only 250 were accepted. The number of foreign students at the university is 560. Most of them are from Arab and African countries, and most of these are Tunisians and Palestinians. One notices here that a significant number of those students are pursuing their studies at the Institute of Medical Science. There are 1,564 Algerians on the faculty at the university: most of them are instructors and few are professors. In addition there are 203 foreigners on contract, and most of them are professors or associate professors. There are 400 visiting professors who work by the hour. The following table shows the distribution of students who are enrolled in the university for the academic year 1982-1983. See the table.

The Institute	New Students Enrolled in September 1982		Total Num- ber of Undergra- duates	Total Num- ber of Graduates Students
Intensive Language Instruction Center	250	includes the branches	109	
Institute of Foreign Languages	669	English 372	1,992	66
Graduate School of Business	290		490	
Institute of Library Economics	69	German 44	226	
The Institute of Dentistry	131	French 116	692	44
Institute of Law & Management Science	1,256	Spanish 86	4,001	371
Institute of Physical Education	61	Russian	57	
Institute of Arabic Language & Literature	372	Translation 50	1,302	104
Speech and Voice Institute				69
Institute of Pharmacology	44		327	333
Institute of Applied Psychology and Academic Counseling	95	includes the branches	95	
Institute of Social Sciences	1,192	Psychology 300	3,113	330
Institute of Economics	298	Philosophy 304	1,177	356
Institute of Islamic Studies	111	Sociology 280	109	
Institute of Medical Studies	652	History 260	6,387	
Institute of Political Science and Information	223	Archeology 48	677	173
Graduate Institute for Work Improvement			1,410	
"Science" "Law"			3,060	

Why Was a Master's Degree Favored?

Naturally, the large increase in the number of students had to be accompanied by

a search for an educational method that would produce a sufficient number of university professors so that the university would not become a mere center that borrows foreign professors and contracts with those who would assist us. We do respect their efforts even though some of them have unfortunately used the classroom to communicate conflicting ideas and principles, most of which are incompatible with our basic principles.

If this search [for a suitable graduate program] has ended in the adoption of a master's degree program, the purpose of establishing that program from the beginning was primarily to develop staff for the university. Second, the program was established to develop scholars who would carry out research and strengthen [ongoing] research efforts. The course of study in the master's degree program includes rigorous theoretical subjects that shed light on the subjects that were studied in the undergraduate program. These [graduate] courses further a student's information and provide him with training in research methodology.

The master's degree program gradually replaced the old French system that was in use in the various institutions of learning. Accordingly, the diploma for in-depth studies and the third class doctorate were abolished. The master's degree was equal to [the latter]. A diploma in in-depth studies is considered by the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research to be equal to the first and second semesters of a master's degree program. Students who had such a diploma became entitled to enroll directly in the third semester of a master's degree program.

According to a ministerial decree it is known that admission to a master's degree program requires that two conditions be met. First, a student should have earned an undergraduate or a comparable degree after 4 years of study at a university. Students who earned their degrees under the old system (those who earned an undergraduate degree in 3 years), will have to attend a full [academic] supplementary year offered by the institutes in question so they can be admitted to a master's program. This is in accordance with a resolution issued last May by the Supreme Board of the University. The second condition is to pass a competitive admissions examination. This latter condition has been the subject of a major debate among students. They think that a competitive admissions examination that is based on subjects about which students write for a few hours cannot be considered a standard for measuring the required educational standards of students. In addition, [they think that] such a competitive examination conflicts with the principle of democratic education.

Although the competitive examination for admission to a master's degree program was introduced to reduce and limit the number of graduate students, the fact that some universities terminated their master's degree programs after scholarship payments were stopped and a freeze on hiring contract instructors was effected caused many students [to transfer] to Algiers University. This was in addition to students at academic centers that do not have master's degree programs.

Consequences and Problems of a Master's Degree Program

The fact is that ever since a master's degree program was instituted at Algiers University in 1977, the number of students in that program has continued to increase. According to university statistics, the number of students enrolled this year is 1,841. Besides 56 students who have actually received their master's degrees, there are 533 students who have been registered since 1977 and 1978 and who

have not made much progress in writing their theses. According to a resolution issued by the university's board last May, they are being threatened with cancellation of their registration if they do not complete their theses by next June. However, if their academic advisers submit reports about their progress, indicating that they are close to completing their research, they may benefit from an additional maximum extension of 6 months.

It's been noticed that there are contradictions in the stipulations for a master's degree that must be corrected because they directly affect the returns for students and cause them to delay the submission of their theses during the maximum 3-year period [of the program]. These contradictions may also cause the student to fail and to give up his studies after having made significant progress in them.

The legal stipulations which require that a student in a master's degree program be a full-time student did not set the terms and guarantees for being a full-time student. Therefore, a basic law must be established to define the status of a student in a master's degree program who is also considered a researcher. A student in a master's degree program is required to be a full-time student. The small stipends that students receive and the high cost of living do not help students remain full-time students. It is known that scholarships designated for master's degree students were abolished early this year, and getting the status of a full-time student by being hired as a contract instructor is also [no longer possible] since such action was suspended by ministerial decree, now that the institutes at Algiers University have a large number of contract instructors that may exceed their needs. Therefore, a solution that is being urgently proposed lies in the necessity of having all the studies that are being carried out by master's degree students registered with the National Organization for Scientific Research. Such registration would guarantee that a student receive a research grant of 1,400 dinars a month from the National Organization for Scientific Research, which we will have to provide with the necessary financial allocations to cover the grants for all master's degree students.

However, the fact that students are not full-time students is most certainly not the only reason why students do not present their theses on time. There are other reasons for that which have to do with the system of study itself. There are too many subjects, for example--more than five--that have nothing to do with students' research projects. Furthermore, the content of the courses and the treatment of the subject matter do not differ from the content and treatment of those subjects that are listed in the undergraduate program. The system of examinations causes students to repeat an academic year if they fail one of the subjects or if they receive a grade of 7 out of 20 in one of the scheduled courses, even though they may have [a passing] average. This wastes students' time and efforts. Therefore, it would be more useful to reduce [the number of] subjects taught and confine them to those subjects that pertain to research methodology and educational methods in higher education. Students should be required to select their research topics during their first rather than their third semester.

Among other reasons also causing students to delay filing their theses is the fact that there aren't enough advisers. The turnover among professors who are helping us is high. In addition, there is no system that would allow them to follow up on the research they are supervising. Besides, there are material

difficulties that have to do with the way the master's program is set up, such as the absence of compensation for advisers. Even when such compensation exists, there is no stipulation defining it. Thus, the scientific studies that are carried out are carried out on an almost voluntary basis. In addition, there are no research centers, and references are few. There are also no resources for sending students abroad. For example, students in their third semester in a master's degree program are now entitled after obtaining the approval of a research or certification center abroad, to receive a grant and spend a month abroad for certification purposes. This is because most political and information subjects are recent ones, and our libraries lack the necessary references in those areas. This decision remains meaningless, however, since a student must still meet the condition of being a full-time, unemployed student.

Facing Difficulties

Dr Husayn ibn As'ad, vice president of the university for graduate studies and scientific research talks to us about all these difficulties. He asserts, "We tried to go along with the students' proposals regarding the competitive [examination for] admissions into a master's degree program, particularly after students boycotted these examinations many times. It was decided in this regard to use each student's academic record instead of the examination. However, after this method was put into practice, most administrative offices at [the various] institutes rejected it and demanded a return to the old system. They asked that there be written and oral examinations. This was done under the pressure created by the large number of students, since the average number of graduate students in any institute is between 300 and 400, even though in most cases those who are admitted to a master's degree program in every discipline do not exceed 20 students.

"Furthermore, according to the resources of each institute the university admits 50 percent more graduate students than it is supposed to, favoring the students of academic centers that do not yet have graduate departments. The university does not turn down students who are instructors at those centers. It agrees to enroll them and to teach them provided that they go back to their original academic positions and work as associate professors when they complete their studies. On the other hand, the university is facing considerable pressure from students at other universities as a result of the fact that contract instructors are no longer being hired by universities, although they are still being hired at academic centers. Thus, studies have been suspended in many master's degree programs at a number of our universities which stipulated that their students be grantees, full-time students, working as contract instructors. Students with grants that have been stopped can no longer afford to be full-time students although students who were hired as contract instructors could continue their studies under better conditions.

"Talking about the growing numbers of students, which is considered a positive factor brought about by the reform, leads me to touch upon some difficulties that result from that, particularly with regard to professors who have the academic credentials that qualify them to teach at this stage and then to supervise students' theses and conduct an oral examination of those theses. The manner in which some of these institutes handled admissions made Algiers University have the largest number of graduate students of all other universities and academic

centers. This is reflected today on the effectiveness of the educational system. There aren't enough professors to supervise students' research. For example, the ratio of professors supervising the theses of master's degree students last year was equal to 1 professor for 20 students. This year the institute has 196 registered students who are in the process of writing their theses. They need to have at least 40 professors to supervise their work. The institute has no more than 25 professors and not a single Algerian professor for lectures or a professor who is qualified to chair an oral examination committee for theses that have been completed. In most cases, therefore, the assistance of professors at the Institute of Law and Management is sought.

"I would like to indicate before we stop talking about this matter that in a gesture of openness to the world of work and in compliance with the needs that institutions have for higher specializations, we are thinking of starting a specialized master's degree program. The Ministry of Education and Scientific Research has proposals and provisions on this regard."

What must be said here, however, is that we must not worry about the large number of students registered in the master's degree program and the difficulties they are facing in finding supervisors, [especially] when we take into account that new classes of students will enroll in graduate studies programs and that they may exceed the educational needs of Algiers University. This is because academic centers that are currently being established in a large number of the country's provinces will make almost every province have its own academic center. These academic centers will form a nucleus for larger universities that will develop as years go by. These universities will need large numbers of people who have master's and doctorate degrees, definitely more than present and future numbers. Also we cannot forget the needs of scientific research in our country. These centers will experience a considerable boost in future years. Algiers University can play an important role in that regard.

On the other hand, the two plans that are being prepared—that of the Ministry of Education and Scientific research which has to do with the establishment of a specialized master's degree program or the plan to amend the Public Employment Act which was issued in 1968—to recognize a master's certificate, [that would be granted] after the first and second semesters, as equal to a diploma of in-depth studies, to follow an undergraduate degree and preceded a master's degree that is equal to a third class doctorate would do away with the chaos in this sector. Higher education would thus not become the only refuge for graduates of the post-degree stage. Thus our various national organizations would get new blood because they will get highly qualified and specialized young people.

[10 Apr 83 p 11]

[Text] After dealing in the past three installments with the efforts of Algiers University to democratize and Arabize education and give it an Algerian character, we recorded some of the shortcomings that the university has been trying to correct. These efforts manifest themselves in the university's new directions. Chief among those, as we were told, is that of maintaining the professional and scientific resources of the university as well as its know-how despite the increase in the numbers of students. Efforts must be made to encourage scientific research at the university and to put internal organization in the institutes

under control. Communication ties between the university and the world of work are to be strengthened by hosting recruiters [on campus] and granting students who do not complete their studies (mid-level staff positions) certificates. Some field studies are to be directed, and some occupations in economic and social fields and in culture are to be taken into account. The university is to become a scientific, educational institution that makes a contribution to and stimulates the cultural life of the country. Attention is to be afforded sports activities by benefiting from the high caliber of athletes who are distributed among the various kinds of sports.

Scientific Research at the University

Scientific research was not organized at Algiers University; it was basically non-existent. Last May, therefore, it was decided that action be taken in this regard even though there isn't any law yet regulating such activity. This does not mean that the university has not been interested in scientific research. The university had entrusted that task to the National Organization for Scientific research which has an agreement with the university that defines relations in that regard.

Under this agreement committees or research teams and professors affiliated with the university who have a topic or a study whose research would last for 1 or 2 years may present their plans to the National Organization for Scientific Research which would study those research topics and list them in the context of a national plan for scientific research and resources for financing that research. In positive cases, an agreement is signed between the two parties under the supervision of Algiers University.

There is no doubt that the formula for this cooperation has allowed for the development of many researchers for the university. Besides, it is ultimately beneficial to the scientific academic community and the National Organization for Scientific Research which publishes the research that has been completed. On the other hand, there are other additional benefits that accrue to researchers who work alone, particularly those who are preparing doctoral dissertations or master's theses or even those who are writing some scientific books.

This formula, which often makes university professors devote full-time effort to research and tie themselves completely to the research centers of the National Organization for Scientific Research during usual working hours, away from students, from classrooms and from lectures, [is countered by] other reasons such as the fact that some topics which are submitted to the organization are turned down. This has made university officials think about establishing their own research centers and eventually benefiting from the experience of their researchers in this regard. University officials are always insisting on the need for organizing research at the university so they can receive graduate students who would, in turn, contribute to that research.

A New Beginning for Research

In the context of the new policy for scientific research which Algiers University has begun this year, the university will have its own research centers which will also encourage the establishment of their own specialized periodicals. This will

ensure that research which has been completed will be published on the broadest scale. It will enable new research centers to make agreements with ministries or with national organizations and institutions to carry out some field and applied studies and to benefit from the financing that is offered to cover this research. In this Algiers University will be like different universities in the world.

On the other hand, university research centers can participate in international conferences and sign agreements with research centers of foreign universities to establish ongoing communications between Algerian and foreign scholars. Algerian studies would be published abroad either through the participation of Algerian scholars in international conferences or through the publication of those studies in books and periodicals. This would impel Algeria to participate effectively in the international movement of scientific research.

For more details on this subject, Dr Husayn Ben As'ad, vice president of the university for graduate studies and scientific research offers us some explanations.

He says, "As you noted, Algiers University will turn a new corner on scientific research. This is the first time that research in the university will be regulated. The university got a budget for operations and investments in the field of scientific research. These funds will be distributed among the university's various institutes for carrying out research projects. This [interest in research] manifests itself in the trend to build new research laboratories. University professors will be entrusted with the task of overseeing these laboratories. They will be assisted by a group of researchers and by students in master's degree programs who may take part in this research. It has been decided in principle that the building of the College of Science, part of which was vacated last summer after its students enrolled in the University of Bab Ezzouar, would be the location for the first laboratories that are founded. A scientific research investment budget will be used to furnish these laboratories.

"Many professors have actually come forward with plans in this regard. We mention [the following] in particular: the Institute of Economics is establishing two laboratories in international economics and in economic and social prospects. A third laboratory for social needs is being established. The Institute for Political and Information Studies is trying to establish a laboratory for African studies, in addition to a laboratory for social studies, a laboratory for social law, an archeological laboratory, a pharmaceutical laboratory and finally a biological laboratory. [The latter] is being offered by the Institute of Medical Science which has actually received a budget for investment in scientific research: 4 million dinars for 1983. It is awaiting the determination of an operating budget for scientific research.

"Naturally, the registration list for new laboratories has not been closed once and for all. This is because the idea is a new one, and we believe that many professors have not heard about it even though we did write to the various institutes asking them to set up meetings with professors and to ask them to set up such laboratories. Therefore, professors can propose other laboratories, and these would be placed on a second list.

"As it is known there is a higher council for scientific research. At its last

meeting this council decided to adopt new provisions regarding developing researchers, financing scientific research and giving scientific research a new shot in the arm. The Ministry of Education and Scientific Research will be asked to draw up the provisions for its plans. Among these provisions will be one determining the method of work for these laboratories. Some of these laboratories may certainly fail; however, it is expected that most of them will succeed, expand and grow and become real research centers at the university. [It is expected that] they will become the cornerstone of the scientific research policy in Algeria. This policy is considered a leading policy in Third World countries, particularly in the countries of the Arab Maghreb. Discussions of the 'Converging Development Theories and Experiences in the Third World' which were recently organized by Algiers University confirmed the degree of interest in the scientific research experience in Algeria."

Cultural and Athletic Stimulation

The erosion of cultural activities at the university is one of the weaknesses for which the university may be faulted. Although the university should play a basic role in reviving cultural activities not only in the university, but also throughout the country, it did try on previous occasions to get out of this languor during which it was confronted with the fact that there was no public. Today, it is incumbent upon the university to revive, diversify and continue cultural activities so as to develop the students. The university has to do this regardless of the preliminary results that are on record. An inquiry must be made into the reasons for this imbalance, chief among which is the dearth of cultural organizations and the weak operations of those that exist. There are also no planned programs that would do away with the fact that students and the educated public do not attend such cultural functions at the university, etc. We do not deny here, of course, that there are some outside factors that come into play here. Chief among these are the numerous social questions and the daily preoccupations that take up much of the time of professors as well as students who are immersed in preparing for lessons and lectures.

In this regard, Dr Sulayman al-Shaykh, the president of the university explains, "Implicit in its new directions the university is trying to give a real shot in the arm to the cultural aspects of university life to help change the present atmosphere. One year ago we tried to introduce [a program that would consist of] a weekly academic lecture, but we had to stop because we did not have a lecture hall, and people did not come. But we will begin this program again this term provided that the public respond to it. Two months ago we made the necessary repairs on the business hall in the university's underground passageway, and we turned it, together with two secondary halls which will be renovated and furnished into a conference and lecture center. This center will be furnished with a system for simultaneous interpretations. Activities there will not be confined to students only. They will include the educated public in general. Since the principal hall was renovated, three scientific symposiums have so far been organized, and we have a plan to carry out a series of lectures. For example, the university is organizing next May a series of lectures on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of Prince 'Abd-al-Qadir. Cultural activity, of course, is not non-existent. The institutes are engaged in a variety of activities that are going on at the university, such as the theater, the movies and the press, etc. In addition, there are special graduate seminars which

are supposed to be open to the public because they involve scientific debates that rely on scientific criticism.

"I must finally call attention to another aspect that is extremely important: that of sports activities at the university. Sports activities too will receive a shot in the arm during this last semester. It is known that there is a ministerial program around which a national debate has been organized; the purpose of this debate is to stimulate sports activities at our universities. In an effort on our part to carry this out, we asked the various institutes to form athletic societies that would include several athletic teams. We asked that they coordinate their activities with the Department of Athletics which was created for that purpose. Due to outstanding athletes in all kinds of sports who play on national teams that are included in Algiers University, it is expected that significant success will be achieved in sports activities and that that will begin with the sports rally which will be organized on Students' Day next May 19.

[11 Apr 83 p 11]

[Text] After this extensive review that we made of the various organizations of Algiers University, and after the dialogue that we initiated with its operators in an attempt to focus the limelight on a number of questions that are of interest to higher education in our country, we come in this installment to find out about the university's problems. We want to become aware of the most important problems, and we want to find out about the solutions that have been made for them. The purpose of these solutions is to make the university more receptive to the reality of society, to improve the quality of its competence and to enable it to play its basic role in developing science, culture, the arts and scientific research. Besides, these solutions will enable the university to become engaged in studies and in the application of those studies.

Reconciling Quantity and Quality

In its efforts to put the principle of democracy in education into practice the university saw a major increase in the number of its students. This was due to the needs for rapid development and the country's urgent need for various highly trained cadres. This [large] quantity of students which resulted from academic reform, was actually reflected on the quality [of education]. Dr Sulayman al-Shaykh, president of the university, has this to say about confronting this inadequacy. "We are in the process of correcting this inadequacy and reconciling quantity and quality by selecting the professors and the courses that are taught, by improving incomes, controlling examinations, applying sternness in [student] promotions from one year to the other and finding better facilities for development and reading. In addition, programs have been changed to stay in step with social developments so that the government would become receptive to the world of work and become associated with the process of production. This is what made us think about instituting intermediate university certificates that would comply with and meet the urgent need in our country for mid-level cadres.

"Talking about inadequacies in quality does not mean that standards are very weak. It indicates that we have the will to improve present conditions. The university's educational standards are respectable, and the evidence for this lies in the fact that its graduates who go abroad to study find no major difficulties in pursuing their graduate studies there. However, construction of a

university for the social sciences in the capital, Algiers, which will be completed in the next 3 or 4 years, and the establishment of multi-disciplinary academic centers throughout the provinces of the country will reduce the pressure on Algiers University, and this will enable it to control the number of students that enroll in the university every year."

Inadequate Facilities

"Among the other problems that the university is suffering from as a result of the increase in the number of students, an increase that was not accompanied by a comparable increase in facilities, is the chaos that is found in some university buildings. This requires that rigorous controls be imposed. This is primarily due to the fact that, on the one hand, study halls and classrooms are inadequate; on the other hand, these classrooms are widely scattered. This process has negative effects, both on students and professors. Under these inadequate conditions, for example, we lack the capabilities to provide offices where professors can work. So we cannot benefit from their presence on campus to stimulate activities in a purely academic atmosphere."

A decision has therefore been made to build an institute for political and information sciences in Ben 'Aknoun; it will include 1,000 students. Another group of buildings will also be built, and these will be an extension of the Institute of Social Sciences in El Kharrouba; it too will have 1,000 students. In addition, an institute of physical education will be built in the suburbs of Ben 'Aknoun; and it will have space for 500 students. A provisional department has actually been set up; it consists of architects and construction engineers, who are waiting for the completion of ongoing studies to begin construction in 1984.

This major shortage in buildings, however, is countered by the fact that other buildings are not carefully utilized. This is the result of negligence and poor maintenance even though university buildings are relatively old and require continuous maintenance. This is evident in the numerous buildings of the former College of Science which is located in the center of campus. These buildings have been neglected completely since 1976 after students left and enrolled in the University of Bab al-Zawar. A ministerial decree has recently been issued restoring all these buildings to Algiers University. An important part of those buildings had belonged to the graduate school for teachers and the National Organization for Scientific Research. Studies are now underway to renovate those buildings. These studies focus on the best ways for turning physics classrooms into classrooms where other subjects can be taught without incurring tremendous expenses. Thus, the university is looking forward to the cooperation of the Graduate School for Teachers and the National Organization for Scientific Research to vacate the building no later than the summer of 1983 so that maintenance and renovations operations can begin.

Copying and Printing

To face the problems students have with regard to printing lectures, a copying center was established in the university's central administration. There lectures and educational reports are printed efficiently, quickly and at little cost. Students are attracted to that center. This center will be expanded, and three other centers will be established. The first will be designated for the institutes at (Ibn 'Aknun); the second will be in (El Khroub) for the Institute of

Social Science; and the last will be established in the Institute of Medical Science.

Like any other educational, cultural institution in our country, Algiers University, on the other hand has a printing problem. According to what we were told, in addition to the exorbitant costs that are required by the process of printing some publications, specialized periodicals and administrative documents, the university has to wait in some cases for 2 years to publish these periodicals. This would divest the contents of these periodicals of any significance, particularly if they contain studies and articles on social and political subjects that are associated with certain events and policies.

Therefore, a modern press was recently established to meet the university's needs. Operating this printing press does not require the use of [highly skilled] technicians who would be paid high wages that the university as an administration subordinate to public employment cannot afford. It was decided that an offset printing press [would be installed]; it would work in a modern fashion and can be operated by a non-skilled worker such as a clerk, and there are many of those at the university. This will save the university significant financial resources. In addition, it will be up to that press to help publish the university's periodicals. A decision has been made in principle to publish a literary quarterly and to publish some academic papers so that the general public can benefit from them instead of having them relegated to the files, not to mention the waste paper basket!

Hiring and Financial Problems

Regarding the university's other problems we let Dr (Rashid Ben Bahmad), vice president of the university for administration, public facilities and planning explain.

He says, "If the actual total figure of the university's employees is 2,524, including professors and 336 custodians who work by the hour and the day, there are among the university's employees a significant number of elderly people who cannot be replaced for various reasons. Among those reasons is the small number of new positions that are allocated every year. Few people retire because workers insist on going on working because retirement benefits are very small due to the fact that workers start working at a later age. Therefore, the solution that has to be implemented on a national scale is that we allow these workers to move directly from the first grade to the fifth so they can retire with good terms. We would thus provide positions in which young people can be hired, and that would help us a great deal in Arabizing the university's administration.

"From a financial standpoint the university used to suffer from a major inadequacy in financial operations both in the university's administration and in the institutes. This was due to the instability of employees and their weak standards. The accounting [system] was traditional and had not been renovated since independence. Therefore, financial branches have been reorganized and placed under the supervision of university graduates. This has enabled us today to have full control over all the university's financial levels even though there are still some difficulties left over from last year when the accounting used to take place under the supervision of a government accountant. This used to cause delays in the disbursement of salaries and the payment of raises and overtime.

All this caused an increase in absenteeism, and it became difficult for officials on any level to monitor absenteeism so long as workers were not getting their full rights. Since January 1983 we've gone back to the old fiscal system, and the university's fiscal departments have been able to avoid many delays.

"At any rate solutions to many of these problems will be found in the context of new directions for the university that are based on planning. In previous years planning in the broad sense was unknown at the university. All university programs were arbitrary and subject to the pressure of circumstances. Therefore, the university introduced a department for planning: it will find out about the past, and it will determine the reality of the present in figures for the purpose of facing upcoming difficulties, fighting waste and making preparations for meeting future needs. The primary result of this has been the fact that the university now has organized statistics which give one an idea about the development of the number of workers, students and professors at the university. At the present time preparations are underway for drawing up a 5-Year Plan for Algiers University. These plans are being drawn up with the coordination of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research. This is being done in the context of the country's directions and general plan which will determine the features of Algiers University in the future."

[12 Apr 83 p 11]

[Text] This episode concludes the report we had begun on Algiers University. We continue here our treatment of the university's problems and the solutions that are being proposed for them. We mentioned the most important of these problems yesterday. Today, we deal with the problem of the university's administrative records which will finally be solved with the use of automation, particularly after it has been decided that [the data processing systems which will be used] will be bilingual, in Arabic and French. This achievement will ultimately lead to the general use of the native language in the media in our country, now that all the technical difficulties which had previously stood in the way have been removed. We will also touch upon the nature of relations established by the university with institutions of higher learning on a national scale, and we will also deal with the university's bilateral relations with Saudi, African and European universities.

Administrative Records

The university's administrative records, as Dr Muhammad al-Saghir Banani, vice president of the university for pedagogy and student affairs, assured us are in considerable disarray. This causes poor operations. Although the records were organized, orderly, bound and stored in storage rooms before 1972, the records in the past 10 years have been difficult to refer to. Documents are loose and scattered in the files. This disarray came about with the introduction of academic reform and the ensuing substantial increase in the number of students and professors. The increase was not accompanied by radical changes in the methods of administrative operations. Furthermore, there is a major shortage in the number of competent staff people who appreciate the importance of organizing these documents.

Data Processing Systems in the University

To face up to this situation in the context of developing the university and giving it modern means, a decision was made to introduce data processing systems to strengthen the various administrative and pedagogic aspects of the university and the institutes that are affiliated with it, as well as the libraries and research [centers]. For more details Dr (Rashid Ben Bahmad), vice president of the university for management, public facilities and planning explains to us the dimensions of this operation.

He says, "The university has created for that purpose a committee for data processing systems. Its task is to study the university's problems and to solve these problems by using data processing systems. We have therefore established a special center for data processing systems that would help solve many of the problems the university is floundering in. For example, a student who graduated 5 years ago can get his grades in the subjects he passed in 5 minutes instead of having to wait, as he does now, for 2 weeks.

"All information about a student can also be programmed: his name, address, the date of his enrollment, his discipline and stages of study, his examination results and the grades he obtained, etc. This makes the process of following up on a student's course of study from beginning to end easy, and it helps organize and preserve the administrative records of the university. This system also allows the university to use the data processing systems to issue students their student [I.D.] cards and report cards in a few moments.

"On the other hand, the data processing center, which we instituted at the university, can become a regional center for the institutions of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research which are found in the central region. The data processing center would help them solve the problems of financial operations that have to do specifically with the payment of salaries and accounting.

"We must also refer here to teaching data processing which is very inadequate at Algiers University. Most colleges in the world with their different disciplines--literature, history, economics, medicine and pharmacy--include among their programs courses for teaching data processing. We will try to use the forementioned data processing center to introduce this course to all classes of higher education at the university."

The Arabic Language in Data Processing

The use of data processing for operating and solving the university's financial and educational problems is considered to be a good move. We are wondering, however, about the language to be used in this data processing. If we are talking about making the use of the native language widespread, we must from now on pursue this course to manifest the true ambitions of the people and to express their political will that the native language be the main foundation of any new educational [tool or] organization that is introduced. Thus, [we would insist on the use of Arabic in those systems] instead of setting up those systems, teaching new cadres in a foreign language and producing one class after the other [of people who mastered data processing in French]. We would then ask to have them all Arabized. Since we have the will and the good intentions, it is possible to

eradicate these problems by starting from the beginning and teaching [these subjects] in our native language.

Since Algiers University is an educational, scientific and cultural institution from which stem innovations, research and new ideas that are adopted by society, it is inevitable that it be a trailblazer and that it adopt the most modern methods that have been arrived at in the world to introduce the use of the Arabic language into data processing. Experts in that field admit that this process is not that difficult. They see no technical problem regarding the use of the Arabic language in data processing. In fact, many western companies that specialize in data processing devices submitted offers to Arab scientific institutions, after solving the problem of programming, to supply these institutions with devices that use the Arabic language in various operations. During Algeria's 19th International Fair we actually saw on display models of these devices that work fully in Arabic. These were displayed by a French company whose representatives affirmed their willingness to meet all orders without any technical problems.

It is known that the exclusive use of the French language in the university's data processing systems may produce a set of given facts, particularly since most educational documents and administrative data were translated into Arabic at the institutes that are covered by the Arabization decree. In technical terms this process could lead to the use of French symbols to refer to educational units that were originally written in Arabic, even in French disciplines. The titles of these courses would also be in French.

An example of this is the symbol for psychology: ('alnaf). [Translator's note: a blend consisting of the first two letters in each one of the two Arabic words for psychology.] It used to be written in French letters as "alnaf". When programming in French, one must provide a new French symbol for psychology; one must find an abbreviation in Latin letters that would go along with the programming requirements of data processing. This would ultimately affect the Arabic content of ongoing educational programs, and it would mean that the basic information which was translated into Arabic with a great deal of effort will have to be translated again and programmed in French so we can get the results automatically in French. We will have to translate into French information from the municipalities which was recently translated into Arabic. This too will have to be translated when it is programmed. Furthermore, students' reports, [I.D.] cards, forms and other documents, about which a political decision was made to translate them into Arabic, will have to be translated into French once again. This process would be intolerable no matter what the excuse.

Therefore, we took these fears that we have, and we went to Dr (Rashid Ben Bahmad) who is overseeing the process of introducing data processing into the university. We went to Dr Bahmad to find out about this, and he assured us by saying, "If as I've indicated, we've completed the stage of evaluating our needs, we have [now] started the stage of selecting the data processing system that will help us. A decision has not yet been made about the international company that will furnish us with this data processing equipment. This delay may be due to the fact that we decided to provide ourselves with bilingual devices that operate in Arabic and in French. In this regard we will go to one of the international fairs that are held in France. We will go at the invitation of a number of data processing companies and we will find out the resources that are available for

obtaining these bilingual devices. It's been decided that everything will be ready before the end of next June. Therefore, there is no need for apprehension now because all the documents in Arabic that will be produced by the data processing equipment will be in the original language. For example, a school certificate will be entirely in Arabic, but to be more specific [a student's name and surname] will also be written in Latin letters."

The University's Relations with Other Institutions in the Country

The university has numerous and varied relations with many institutions of learning in the country that are based on cooperation and integration. These relations assume many forms. Professors are sent to universities and academic centers which need disciplines that are available at Algiers University. This helps recently established academic centers by providing them with professors and academic references. Algiers University also receives the students of these recently established academic centers; it helps supervise their post-graduate research and studies, and it discusses their dissertations. This is in addition to the work and research relations which the university has with state institutions. For example, Algiers University heads a work committee that includes all ministries that are charged with implementing a joint program with UNESCO. This program pertains to the social sciences project in the countries of the Arab Maghreb. Through this committee the university oversees the implementation of Algeria's part of that project.

Foreign Relations

The university has two kinds of foreign relations. The first has to do with relations with academic associations in the world. Algeria is a full member in the Association of Arab Universities which is located in Riyadh. It is also a member of the Association of African Universities which is located in Brazzaville. The other kind of relations pertains to direct bilateral relations with Arab and African universities on the one hand and with European universities on the other. Dr 'Abd-al-Qadir Barakat, vice president of the university for foreign relations offers us a few examples so we can understand the nature of these relations.

Dr Barakat says, "Regarding cooperation with Arab universities, we have an agreement with Syrian universities. Under the terms of that agreement the University of Damascus received the third group of professors who went there to study the Arabic language and improve their standards in Arabic. There were 25 professors in the group, and they spent 6 months studying the Arabic language. In addition, Algiers University receives visiting professors who oversee and discuss academic dissertations in some disciplines. In return, our university sends professors to teach in French in the master's degree program of the school of law. This is in addition to those professors who will be sent to Syria to teach French.

"An example of relations with African universities is that which we have with the University of Bujumbura in Burundi. We send that university professors in some disciplines, such as archeology, history and the Arabic language. In return we suggested to the University of Bujumbura that it send us professors in African history and in Swahili, which are currently being taught at our university.

"Regarding relations with European universities we can refer to relations with the University of Paris 10, Nantir. Under the terms of the existing mutual exchange [program] the University of Paris asked us for Algerian professors to teach some literary subjects in Arabic. In addition, [Algerian] professors are sent to the University of Paris to teach several disciplines such as law, economics, and psychology. Algiers University receives professors who give lessons and deliver lectures in the same disciplines.

"Of course the fact that we ask for professors in these disciplines does not mean that we do not have professors in these disciplines. The main objective of this process is to increase opportunities for exchange, which generate contact and discussions. Consequently, the theories and information that students receive from lectures, from books, from field observations and from visiting professors are brought closer together.

"We must note, however, that there is a difference between the relations we have with European universities and those that we have with Arab and African universities. The purpose of our relations with European universities is to have an exchange program that is based on equality and treatment in kind. Accordingly, its objective is not to fill some needs but rather to open up [opportunities] and exchange common experiences. Existing relations with Arab and African universities, however, which are basically based on cooperation rely on political and cultural considerations. This enables us to offer assistance to some universities without expecting to receive similar assistance in return.

"In concluding I would like to refer to the symposiums and international gatherings that are continuously being organized by the university. These are held at least twice a year. In that context it's been decided that Algiers University will oversee arrangements for the 17th session of the board of directors of the Association of Arab Universities in April 1984. This will be followed immediately by an international symposium on teaching in the Arabic language at Arab universities."

We have thus come to the end of this report in which we tried to deal with many problems that are of interest to the questions of higher education in our country. We tried to cover the various activities that have to do with Algiers University in accordance with the information that was presented to us. We did this so we can give [readers] a better picture about this university which is trying under new directions to interact with society as an educational, scientific and cultural institution in every sense of all these terms. Algiers University is trying to make an effective contribution to the rapid development of the country; it is trying to find practical solutions to all pending problems.

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CSO: 4504/334

BRIEFS

PRC CULTURE MINISTER--PRC Minister of Culture Zhu Muzhi gave a press conference at the Ministry of Culture yesterday evening in the presence of the members of the delegation of senior national cultural sector officials and specialized journalists of the printed and visual media accompanying him during his official visit to Algeria. After reading out his impressions concerning his meetings with Algerian cultural figures and what he has discovered at the cultural and civilization levels during his brief stay in our country, Mr Zhu Muzhi emphasized the significance of Algeria's experience and achievements, before answering many questions connected with China's cultural production and life. Cinema, theater, publishing, historical and archeological research, protection of the heritage, the struggle against cultural imperialism and so forth were the subject of information and explanations. For his part, the Chinese minister asked the Ministry of Culture's senior officials questions about the organization and functioning of Algerian cultural institutions, especially in connection with literary life and the protection of sites and monuments. We will return to this in our next issue. [Text] [PM131044 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 25 Apr 83 p 16]

CSO: 4500/211

AL-ISLAMBULI'S FATHER TALKS ABOUT ASSASSINATION, SON'S OBJECTIVES

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 11 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview with Ahmad Shawqi al-Islambuli, the father of Khalid al-Islambuli, the man convicted of killing President al-Sadat by Majdi Mahanna: "Khalid al-Islambuli's Father Talks about How the Assassination Idea Began and Its Relationship with the Arrests; 'If My Son's Aim Was To Carry Out a Successful Coup, He Would Have Succeeded; Khalid Was not Normal and No One Could Influence Him;' Will al-Islambuli's Father Go Back to Prison?"]

[Text] Next Thursday after the afternoon prayer and before the evening prayer a whole year would have gone by since Khalid al-Islambuli, the convicted killer of the late President Anwar al-Sadat was executed. Ahmad Shawqi al-Islambuli, Khalid's father, was in the Abu Za'bal prison during the assassination trial and when sentence was carried out on 14 April last year. Ahmad Shawqi al-Islambuli remained in Abu Za'bal prison until 18 July of that year. Khalid's father was the only Egyptian--out of 45 million Egyptians--who did not know that his son was still alive. [He remained ignorant of that fact] until he learned the truth on 8 November, that is, 1 month and 2 days after the platform incident. Who told him the news? What did Khalid say to his father? What did the father tell his son when they met on 21 February and then on 24 February of 1982, that is, 4 and a half months after the assassination? Why did he prefer solitary confinement in prison even though it is a more severe punishment? What advice would he give to Khalid about the platform operation if Khalid had come to him for advice? The man has a right to speak [his mind] today. This was the interview that AL-AHRAR had with him.

[Question] When was the last time you saw Khalid?

[Answer] The last time I saw the late Khalid was on 24 February 1982 on the basis of an appeal that Khalid and his mother had submitted to the socialist prosecutor. He saw the tears in my eyes, and he raised his head high and said, "No!" I told him, "Son, I am not crying," and Khalid said, "I know that I have your blessing, but I want to hear you say it." I told him, "You have my blessing, [son]."

[Question] What I mean to say is when was the last time you saw him before 6 October 1981?

[Answer] The last time I saw him [before that date] was on 21 September 1981.

His brother, Muhammad had been arrested on 2 September in the raids that were carried out in September to arrest people. Khalid came to our village, Mallawi, on 5 and 6 September. The sugar company where I work had made arrangements for a training course in Naja' Hamadi from 15 to 21 September. I had agreed with Khalid that I would go to Mallawi on 25 September, but I was not able to go there because of the circumstances of the training course and because I had not received the salary for the month of October. It was his mother who went to Mallawi. On the following day, 26 September, I called them, and Umm Khalid told me that Khalid had received orders to report to the military parade on 6 October and that he would come to Mallawi on Bairam or on the eve of Bairam at night.

The Birth of the Idea

[Question] On that date, did Khalid make any suggestions to you or let you know that he was thinking about something?

[Answer] Khalid himself did not know anything. He found out that he would take part in the parade only on 24 September. From that day only the idea began to grow in his mind. Consequently, I did not know anything. But he was troubled. All the people of Egypt--young and old--were troubled and subdued. This was because of the terrible condition the country had come to due to the arrests [that were taking place] and the corruption.

[Question] When and how were you informed of the assassination?

[Answer] On 6 October I found out that something had happened. But when I heard the bulletin state that a heavy artillery vehicle was behind the incident, Umm Khalid said, "My son!" Her feelings were those of a mother who would naturally fear for her son. I told her, "Oh, be quiet! My son would not do a thing like that!"

[Question] What do you mean he would not do a thing like that?

[Answer] I wanted to calm her down. I wanted to close the subject and keep such thoughts out of her mind.

We sat and listened to the broadcasts. On the following day about 4 o'clock I saw Khalid's picture in AL-AKHBAR. He was lying on the ground and two soldiers were pulling him from his shoulders.

I know Khalid well, and I know that no one could have touched a part of his clothing unless he were dead. Only at that time did I say, "God claims us all in the end." [Translator's note: This expression, usually said in resignation as a sign of acceptance of another's death, conveys a sense similar to that conveyed by "Ashes to ashes and dust to dust."]

I was shocked. This was another emotional shock because his mother had told me that the man in the picture was not my son.

The picture was blurred because it had been enlarged. I was stunned, and I told her, "No, this is your son."

She said, "The face and the mustache in the picture are large, and Khalid's face and mustache are not that large."

On the following day Radio London announced that the name of the man [in the picture] was Khalid 'Atallah, and Umm Khalid said, "This is not my son." I told her, "No, it is your son."

Fear or Pride?

[Question] What were your feelings at that time? Were you afraid or were you proud?

[Answer] I was not afraid because we are in God's hands. He is the only One we fear. We thank God for what He decrees for us. I was also not proud. My son had died; he had been killed. This was a shock to me about my son, and I was not thinking of anything more than that.

[Question] From the time you heard the news until you were arrested on 10 October, what did you say to people, and what did people say to you?

[Answer] I did not allow anyone to talk to me. I kept the telephone receiver off the hook, and I did not allow anyone to visit.

[Question] Did you expect to be arrested?

[Answer] Of course I did. I expected that they would carry out many measures.

When the investigating police came on 10 October while I was praying the afternoon prayer, I told them that I had a gun and that I had a permit for it, and I turned it over to them. They arrested me quietly. In Mallawi they took from me names and data and some information, and then they took me to al-Minya. There they asked me what I thought about Khalid. I told them that Khalid was an honest man, that he was a Muslim and a truthful man who would never tell a lie. I told them that he had received honors for his conduct at the Military College and in the army. I told them that when I used to ask him about his studies, he would tell me, "Don't ask me about the studies, ask me only about my grade in conduct."

Then they asked me what I meant when I said he was a Muslim.

I told them that our father had taught us that being a Muslim meant to pray, to fast and to perform the duties prescribed to us by our God. I told them that I had raised my children to do that. Khalid and Muhammad started praying when they were 7 years old.

They asked me what was Khalid's motivation for carrying out such an action, and I told them I did not know. They asked me if I had known [that Khalid would do what he did] what would I have done, and I told them that if I had known, I would have sacrificed myself for my son.

They asked me about al-Sadat, and I said that he was a man who made Muslims renounce their faith, a man who says that Muslim scholars are non-believers. He would not deign address a man of the cloth as your eminence. He talked about

al-Shaykh al-Mahallawi and said that he was lying in prison like a dog. He said, "My word cannot be changed, nor am I unjust to My servants" [Qaf: 29], and he was referring to himself!

They asked me about the economic open-door policy, and I said that it was a commercial operation and that it was an operation to plunder.

They asked me about Camp David, and I said, because you ask me about that, [let me tell you] to bring al-Sadat's statement to the People's Assembly and his address to the Knesset and then the Camp David treaty itself. You will then see how the country was sold out and how the people were sold out.

[Question] What do you mean by [the people] were sold out?

[Answer] I mean Sinai has not yet been fully liberated. I mean that there are still international emergency forces on Egyptian territory. I mean

On the following day, 11 October, I went to Abu Za'bal Prison, to room number 25, which is solitary confinement.

[Question] Was that a kind of punishment?

[Answer] Solitary confinement is for dangerous people only. I used to go out of the cell for 10 or 5 minutes per day. Most of the time this was at 6 a.m.

At first I felt lost and emotionally torn. To me there was no difference between being imprisoned in solitary and being imprisoned with others. Quite the contrary in solitary confinement I was alone with God.

[Question] How were you treated?

[Answer] I was well treated. No one tried to mistreat me. After that I went to room number 7 where there was a group of young Nasirists. I asked for a Koran, and one of the fellow Nasirists, Muhammad 'Ulwan gave me a copy that belonged to 'Abd-al-Samad al-Sharqawi. I began to have a sense of peace. After 2 or 3 days I was stunned when someone in prison told me that Khalid was alive. That was on 7 or 8 November 1981.

I began to regain my emotional composure, and in December I began to go out of the room for 1 hour a day. Before that I would go out for only 10 minutes. I stayed in room number 7 from 29 November 1981 until I was released on 18 July 1982.

He Has a Strong Personality

[Question] It was said during Khalid's trial that his religious upbringing influenced his development and his ideas. What about his upbringing? Were there gaps in his upbringing or was his upbringing a sound one?

[Answer] Khalid was not normal when he was little.

Muhammad was born in January 1954, and Khalid was born in November 1957. This

means there is a difference of 3 years between the two. Despite that when Khalid was 3 years old, he was larger than his brother Muhammad who was then 6 years old.

Khalid did not speak when he was little, but when he was 3 years old, he spoke fluently and abruptly. When you would see him, you would think that Muhammad was younger than he was.

Khalid was daring and strong, and he did whatever he wanted to do. I taught my children not to lie. I remember that I asked him once to answer the telephone and to tell whoever was calling that I was not in the house. He was 8 years old then.

Khalid said, "My father wants me to lie, and he says he is not at home."

No one has ever been able to influence Khalid ever since he was a child. But he could influence others because he had a very strong personality. He was self-confident, and he hoped to enter the military college or the police college. But his average of 56 percent did not allow him to enter the police college. He graduated with honors from the Military College in 1977.

[Question] If the platform incident had not taken place, what shape do you think Egypt would have been in today?

[Answer] The shape Egypt would have been in is evident from the Camp David process. From 5 September 1981 there was not a single household in Egypt that was not grieving. A member of each household or a relative of each household had been arrested. This was the condition Egypt was in, and the situation was getting worse because of the economic open-door policy and the plundering that was going on at the expense of Egypt's wealth.

[Question] Was the mistake in the plundering or in the open-door policy itself?

[Answer] This question should be answered by people who know about these matters. The United States itself used to prohibit the importation of Japanese goods, and it imposed quotas on these goods even though the United States is a big country and the standard of education and advancement there is much higher than it is in Egypt.

The Arrest and the Assassination

[Question] Can one make a connection between the arrests that occurred on 5 September 1981 and the assassination that occurred on 6 October?

[Answer] The 5 September operation was one that put all the Egyptian people under psychological stress: men and women, Muslims and Christians. Everyone was scared and frightened. This was a large terrorist operation. Everyone who spoke freely was arrested; anyone who said this was a mistake was arrested.

There is no doubt that there is a relationship between the two incidents. The Islamic faith and the Christian faith were being abused. Even the title, your eminence, was not being used in addressing clergymen. No one was looking after families, and no one was looking after the state.

[Question] What would be your analysis of the significance of the platform incident? What were the reasons for this incident and what were its motivations?

[Answer] Khalid said that the idea of the platform did not come up until 25 September, that is, 11 days before the incident. People were repressed, and newspapers wrote what the ruler was saying. The best people were being arrested and thrown in prison.

[Question] People have come to think that the aim of the platform incident was to overthrow the government and seize power.

[Answer] If Khalid had thought of carrying out a coup, he could have killed everyone on the platform. Khalid could have carried out that coup, but that was not his objective.

[Question] It was said that he failed to complete the coup.

[Answer] Don't believe that. Do you believe what al-Nabawi Isma'il would say?

[Question] How then can you explain the death of eight other people?

[Answer] Everyone who was killed was killed by mistake. The bombs that were used were smoke bombs.

The incident as it was described by all broadcasts in the world was nothing more than a Muslim killing a pharaoh. Al-Sadat was the only one targeted by that operation.

[Question] If Khalid had asked you for your opinion on the assassination, what would you have advised him?

[Answer] Khalid does not ask for anyone's opinion. When Khalid becomes convinced that a certain action would please God, then that's it; he would not ask for anyone's opinion unless he wanted that person to join him in that action. If he had asked me, I would have given up my life for him.

[Question] In your meetings with him in February 1982, was he fully satisfied with what had happened?

[Answer] This is what God has decreed. We all know that this is what God has decreed. He used Khalid as His instrument to carry out this action.

[Question] Regarding the question of declaring a Muslim a non-believer, can one Muslim declare another a non-believer?

[Answer] In order for anyone to judge whether one person is a Muslim or not, one has to be in a Muslim society. It is the judges or the scholars who would make such a judgment. But no Muslim can declare another Muslim a non-believer. Only God and the Koran judge us all.

[Question] Who calls people to account in an Islamic society?

[Answer] God.

The Relationship between Religion and Politics

[Question] Do I take this to mean that the ruler before 6 October 1981 was an unjust ruler?

[Answer] Khalid believed that al-Sadat had become so unjust that he described himself as caretaker of families and supreme caretaker. He used to interpret the Islamic faith to his liking. What happened on 6 October was the same thing that happened to pharaoh.

[Question] Was that injustice or heresy?

[Answer] I cannot determine whether it was injustice or heresy.

[Question] What is the relationship between religion and politics?

[Answer] The Islamic religion embodied in the Koran and in the Tradition of the Prophet lays down the rules for the lives of Muslims from the time they are born till the day they die. It lays down the rules of their lives from morning till evening. There is nothing in social life, in political life or in anything else that Islam did not touch upon.

[Question] What about using religion for political purposes?

[Answer] The Islamic faith covers the family, society, politics, the state, religion, this world, paradise and hell. The Islamic faith covers everything, not only politics, which is a small part of the religion.

Khalid's Trial

[Question] Let us go back to Khalid's trial. Did you think that it could have taken any other form?

[Answer] I heard about the trial and about everything that took place in it. I wanted to write a special authorization requesting a stay of execution, but authentication of that document was declined. I knew that Khalid did not want anyone to appeal on his behalf. He even refused to wear a mask on his face when he was executed. I did not want anything for him other than what God had ordained. God chose Khalid [to His side] and He honored him. He was buried in the tomb of martyrs.

[Question] Did you ask that his body be turned over to the family?

[Answer] His mother did, but her request was turned down.

[Question] Are you satisfied and at peace with yourself today, or do you feel guilty?

[Answer] I am just another servant in this country.

[Editor] At this point Umm Khalid interjected, "We serve God only."

Ahmad Shawqi al-Islambuli went on to say, "A judgment was issued on 14 April 1982 rejecting the order of my arrest. But the government appealed on the grounds that I was going to be arrested in 1954 and in 1948. The government argued that I was in the Socialist Union and that I had formed societies that held opinions opposing those of the state."

[Question] Did you join the Socialist Union because you fully believed in it?

[Answer] Of course I fully believed in it. 'Abd-al-Nasir was the leader of the country, and every person wanted to serve the country. On 15 May 1982 the court and the government had to carry out the judgment that was issued in April, and I was released 2 months later, on 18 July. To this day the government remains opposed to the matter of my arrest. It makes no difference to me. Quite the contrary, I am better off in prison than I am outside prison.

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AL-SADAT'S BACKGROUND, STYLE RELATED

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 13 Apr 83 pp 1, 7 & 10

[Article by Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal: "An AL-AHALI Exclusive: 'The Autumn Fury:' The Story of the Beginning and End of al-Sadat's Administration"]

[Text] "The Autumn Fury" relates the sequence of dramatic events which culminated in the incident on the platform on 6 October 1981.

Starting with the assassination, Haykal deals with the history of al-Sadat, touching upon conditions that had a bearing on the events and the political secrets which preceded and paved the way for the incident.

The story of al-Sadat provides an opportunity for relating the story of Egypt and [outlining] the features of its crisis during the seventies: the second plundering of Egypt; political Islam; and the dispute with the Church.

How were the storms formed? How did the thunderbolts begin, and how did they end with "The Autumn Fury" and the assassination?

A number of international newspapers will be printing some chapters of the book, "The Autumn Fury." Over a period of 60 days the Arab press will be printing the book in its entirety. AL-AHALI has the exclusive right to print the book in Egypt under a special arrangement with the Kuwaiti publication, AL-WATANI.

Haykal wrote "The Autumn Fury" in English. It was translated into several languages, and Haykal himself translated it into Arabic. The Arabic edition of the book is the only one that has a special preface which will not be printed before the book is published.

In this issue AL-AHALI is printing the international preface to the book. It is also printing the first chapter of the book about "The Age of Superstars" and al-Sadat's "superstar" status in the television age; and the second chapter about "Roots," that is, al-Sadat's roots in Mit Abu al-Kawm, and that is a far cry from al-Sadat's contradictory statements about his early years.

Preface

Writing "The Autumn Fury" was no easy matter!

The primary objective was to relate a major political story that had to be told.

It was essential that that story be told if one wanted its tragic consequences not to be repeated in the future.

One of the first reasons why writing "The Autumn Fury" was not an easy task is the [realization] that the facts of the book will shock many people in the West. These facts will shock those people who formed certain impressions about people and policies that are not consistent with the facts, thus making the appearance of these facts finally apt to be a curious surprise.

The second reason why writing the book was not an easy task is the personal element in the matter. It is a fact that what I am writing is not a judgment on al-Sadat; it is still too soon to make a final judgment on the man. It would have been possible for someone to think that I have a personal grudge against the late president with whom I had disagreed, since our disagreement ended in my imprisonment along with thousands of others who were arrested in September 1981. But this is not true. I bear no personal grudge whatsoever against al-Sadat. Until this very moment our disagreement has been, at least from my point of view, a difference in point of view and a difference of opinion. There was nothing personal whatsoever in our disagreement.

The fact is that I had a great deal of affection for al-Sadat as a human being.

I was closer to President al-Sadat than any other person was in the first 4 years of his presidency, as he himself admitted in an interview with the Lebanese magazine, AL-USBU' AL-'ARABI. I think President al-Sadat was sincere when he made that statement. I believe that I did play an effective role in the political deliberations and consultations that led to al-Sadat being chosen president after the death of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. I played that role as minister of guidance, as then member of the National Security Council or as editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAM.

I also think that I was not unaware of some of the reasons for his inadequacies, but I thought that the burdens of the position and the onus of responsibility would strengthen all the positive elements of his character and would help him overcome those weaknesses. The example of U.S. President Harry Truman who succeeded Franklin Roosevelt to the presidency of the United States near the end of World War II was always on my mind. Coming after Roosevelt, Truman at that time appeared to be a colorless and an unknown personality who would not be able to lead the great human struggle of World War II to its desirable and certain conclusion. Faced with the challenge of practical experience, however, Truman flourished: he matured and became one of the most remarkable presidents of the modern age. I thought the same thing could happen to al-Sadat. As minister of national guidance at that time I managed his presidential campaign even though I had in fact submitted my resignation from the ministry after 'Abd-al-Nasir's funeral. After that I communicated daily with al-Sadat, and I believe that until the October War I did my best [to serve him] and that my efforts were sincere. I took part in drawing up the political and information plans that paved the way for and ran concurrently with the military battle of that war. Furthermore, it was at the request of President al-Sadat that I wrote the strategic directive that was issued by the president to the general commander of the Egyptian armed forces defining Egypt's strategic objective in the battles of this war.

It is not true, as it's being said in some instances, that President al-Sadat fired me as editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAM and that the rift between us was caused

by that. We had differences of opinion, and these differences became pronounced during the first disengagement and immediately after it. Our differences were such that I was not able to take part in articulating Egyptian policy. But the decision to leave AL-AHRAM was mine. I knew that when I opposed him publicly on his method of negotiating with the United States and with Israel and on the interim and long-term objectives of these negotiations, that matters between us would soon end in conflict. But with this conflict we did not become enemies. His first decision [after that] was to [offer to] move me from AL-AHRAM to the presidency as a presidential adviser. I declined the offer. Then he offered me more than one position in government, including the position of presidential national security adviser and the position of deputy prime minister. Once again I declined those offers because I felt I could not serve policies that were not consistent with my beliefs.

There was a time in our relationship when our goals were one and the same, or so it appeared to me for some time. We were both asking for peace in the Middle East based on justice. Both of us wanted to see Egypt free and prosperous and the Arab world united and strong. But as matters unfolded, our views differed. At first we differed about the means [for achieving common objectives] and eventually we ended up having different and even conflicting objectives. I did not consider myself a person who opposed al-Sadat. However, I was trying to maintain my own independence. And when President al-Sadat began attacking me regularly and publicly by name every time he spoke and even when he threw me in prison, I declare that as God is my witness--and many people who know the truth will testify to that--I did not feel any hatred for him at any moment. There was no reason for me to hate him, not even from a practical standpoint. For when a president makes one of the citizens of his country the constant target of his attacks, he is increasing and not diminishing that person's importance. Accordingly, I may not be overstating my case here if I say that in some way I am indebted to President al-Sadat for unintentionally enhancing my worth both nationally and internationally.

Therefore I repeat once again that "The Autumn Fury" is not an attack on al-Sadat. It may be appropriate for me to say that "The Autumn Fury" is an attempt that may seem ambitious to draw a very broad portrait of al-Sadat on a limited scale. The book is not a biography of al-Sadat, although it has some biographical elements which I limited to some essential aspects that would shed light on his personality and on the motives for his action. The book I wrote is not a study of Egypt's present economic and social conditions. Nor is it a book about Egypt's historical characteristics, even though I had to touch upon some aspects of these subjects. The book is also not a study of Islamic principles; it is not a study of the Coptic Church; nor is it a study of terrorism as a political weapon, even though I had to deal with a number of these issues.

The fact of the matter is that out of all these issues I dealt with what was necessary to lead the discussion up to a certain point in time and place. That certain point in time was 12:10 p.m., Tuesday, 6 October 1981. That certain place was the presidential platform at the arena for military parades in Nasr City. It was there that shots were fired ending the life and role of President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

At that time many people in the West saw the assassination of al-Sadat as another

example of the insane violence, characteristic of our age, of which outstanding men of our time became or almost became victims. People in the West added the assassination of al-Sadat to a list of assassinations which included that of the brothers John and Robert Kennedy, or they added it to a list of assassination attempts which included the attempts against President Reagan and Pope John Paul II. But nothing can be further from the truth. Those who committed or attempted to commit an assassination in the West were loners who lived outside the margins of social forces. The makeup of the social forces in the West has almost been completed: their characteristics have been defined; and the general course of their tendencies has become clear, with ample room for action. In the West different classes--the upper, middle and lower bourgeoisie and the working class--were able to develop themselves and to define their characteristics and their movements. Relations between the classes were not rigid; these classes interacted with each other continuously, and from that interaction emerged what we can call "a clear majority." Although that majority may be silent on some occasions, it is undoubtedly a majority.

It took years for the nations and countries of the West to complete their development. There were wars, civil wars, revolutions and violent reactions throughout the stages of this development. Then matters became settled in western countries with [the establishment of] acceptable social and political checks and balances. The countries and the nations of the Third World, however, are still going through a period of upheaval and revolution. They are still trying, with a great deal of suffering, to shift from a conventional law whose origins are tribal and rooted in family and semi-religious [values] to a stage of constitutional and statutory law. Their course in this laborious odyssey is full of danger and occasions for upheavals. Of course it is not essential that it be the destiny of Third World countries and of Third World nations to follow in the footsteps of western countries and nations and go through the same stages they went through. Conditions in the latter part of the 20th century are different, and the technological revolution and the means of communication are increasing the pace of events and breaking barriers of all kinds. However, any observer must be careful when he tries to consider the elements of cohesiveness in every society. The fact of the matter is that the cohesive factor in any society is that majority. Those who tried to assassinate al-Sadat were part of the majority trend, and so were the forces that overthrew the Shah's regime, despite the differences in conditions between Egypt and Iran.

I think that my objective in writing "The Autumn Fury" will have been achieved if some people, particularly in the West, would begin asking themselves questions and if they themselves were to try to find answers to those questions.

Why was the man who was admired so much in the West as isolated as he was in his own world?

Why did al-Sadat, who was described as "a mere political acrobat" by Kissinger in one of the lectures he delivered in 1972 become exactly 2 years later a*great personality described by the same Henry Kissinger as comparable to Bismarck?

* Dr Henry Kissinger compared al-Sadat to Bismarck in the summer of 1981 less than 1 month before I was arrested. He was trying to convince me that al-Sadat's policies were sound and that my opposition to them was futile. What is curious [in this case] is that Bismarck created a unified Germany from one of its states, whereas al-Sadat broke up the unity of the Arab nation while he headed the largest country in the Arab nation.

Why was there more mourning for al-Sadat in the West than there was in his own country? Why did a large number of foreign politicians attend his funeral while only Egyptian officials and some foreign visitors took part in that funeral?

Why was the man whose every move was covered by television forgotten so quickly in Egypt?

Many people, especially people in the West, must finally ask themselves why is it that some leaders, who can communicate with the West and who can tell the West what it wants to hear, fail to make themselves heard in their own countries and why is it that they fail to gain the confidence of their own citizens? The list of such leaders is a long one. It includes Chiang Kai Chek in China; Suharto in Indonesia; the Shah in Iran; Mobutu in Zaire; Marcos in the Philippines; al-Sadat in Egypt; and perhaps others.

I know that what I will write will make some people in Egypt angry. It will infuriate them and cause them to renew their attacks on me. But I understand their reasons. I know that there is a certain class of people--they are perhaps groups rather than a whole class or even individuals rather than groups--that benefited from al-Sadat's administration. They obtained privileges and [accumulated] fortunes that they had never dreamed about. It is natural for such people to feel that their destinies were linked to al-Sadat's. Now, however, Egypt, the Arab nation as well as the world need to take a long and hard look at everything that has happened. The lights have been extinguished, and the time of the superstars has run out. It is now imperative that ordinary people learn how to live together.

I admit that I began thinking about writing "The Autumn Fury" as soon as I was arrested on 3 September 1981 when I looked around me in prison and saw all those people who symbolized of the most important and the most influential political and intellectual trends in Egypt. I became certain at that time that the big gambler had taken another risk and that he had put all his cards at once on the line. I was convinced--in a semi-psychic fashion--that I was living through a drama that would end one day in some fashion. [I was convinced] that as a journalist I may be called upon before others to tell the story. During the months of imprisonment I talked at length with others about what was happening. At any rate there was nothing else to do but talk. I talked first with those who were in my cell, and then I talked with others when we were allowed to walk

* This is what veteran Egyptian politician, Dr Mahmud Fawzi, one of the most remarkable Egyptian personalities in the recent period told me in an accurate analogy he drew to describe al-Sadat's regime when al-Sadat was at the height of his power: "We are watching a new form of art for the first time in history. We are watching the art of drama without a play. We see painted background scenes in front of us; we hear sounds; we see lights and colors; we hear music; and we see the curtain rising and falling, but there is in fact no play." It later turned out that this conversation with Dr Fawzi in which he made that analogy was recorded by security agencies and relayed to President al-Sadat who remained angry with the late Dr Mahmud Fawzi until Dr Fawzi died, may God have mercy on his soul. When Dr Fawzi died, he was not honored by the state as people of lower standing and others whose contributions to Egypt's life were not as great as Dr Fawzi's were.

around for a while in the prison yard. I talked with many people; I did not count how many people I talked with. I talked with former ministers. There were enough prominent personalities in the Turah Farm Annex to form two or three councils of ministers. I talked with prominent economists, with first class leaders of professional associations, with university professors whose contributions in all disciplines are notable; and I also talked with old and young Muslim fundamentalists. Later I talked with a number of Christian clergymen. I believe I am indebted to all those people not only for their friendship, but also for the contributions they made to enrich our conversations. I also owe an unlimited debt to those people I was able to talk with after I got out of prison.

I must extend my thanks in particular to Dr Hasan Hanafi, professor of Islamic philosophy at Cairo University; to Dr Murad Wahbah, professor of philosophy at 'Ayn Shams University; and to Dr Milad Hanna, professor and senior architectural consultant at the College of Engineering. Thanks to the latter two I had the opportunity to learn from a close distance about the heritage of the Egyptian Coptic Church. I must also express my gratitude here to Mr 'Adil Husayn and his monumental study of the Egyptian economy. I must also express my gratitude to Dr Sa'd al-Din Ibrahim, professor of sociology at the American University for what he wrote about the social makeup of Egypt. I am also indebted to many other people whose names I did not mention for understandable reasons. At any rate I must say that ultimately I am the only one, of course, who is responsible for the facts I related and the views I presented.

[In this] I tried to do nothing more than be a witness to an important and a curious stage of Egypt's history.

Chapter One: The Age of Superstars: the Making of a Star

The important question is this: how did we get to these two points in time and place?

The time was 12:10 p.m., Tuesday, 6 October 1981.

The place was the presidential platform at the arena for military parades in Nasr City.

"...I have ventured, / Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders, / This many summers in a sea of glory, / But far beyond my depth." (William Shakespeare's "Henry VIII [III.ii.358-361]).

Every age needs its heroes who may be prophets, kings, warriors, explorers, inventors, philosophers or poets. But every age needs a few extraordinary individuals that all ordinary men and women can look up to and use as models they can follow or even as new phenomena worthy of interest.

When we consider the present century, and specifically when we consider the political heroes who emerged in the last 40 or 50 years, we can find a new mode of heroes is emerging.

At first there was the generation of World War II giants: Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and De Gaulle. Even Hitler in his own way was a political giant. Had it not been for his evil genius, the strong aspects of those who led the war against Nazism and against him would not have surfaced.

After the war a generation of great revolutionaries emerged. Because of the influence of their personalities, their ideas and their influence, they were able to reach beyond the borders of the countries they governed. Outstanding examples of that generation of great revolutionaries are men like Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Nehru, Tito and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir.

While the heroes of these two generations--the generation of World War II giants and the generation of great revolutionaries--were occupying and controlling the political scene, a scientific revolution whose effects would be far-reaching was underway. The importance of this revolution was not less than that of the Industrial Revolution 200 years ago or the nuclear revolution in recent years. This scientific revolution which occurred abruptly was still in its infancy; its new techniques were later destined to produce a new generation of heroes. These new scientific revolutions consisted of a revolution in communications, which opened the door to the worlds of television, satellites and electronic computers. This new scientific revolution with its means was able to introduce into every household the faces and voices of famous men and women as well as the faces and voices of men and women who were not famous. This new scientific revolution was able to turn some of those people, who were our contemporaries, into prominent people. This was how the age of superstars began.

Politicians and outstanding people in all walks of public life competed with each other to discover the tremendous and vast capabilities of the means of this new power that they now had at their disposal. Very few of them were able to understand the means and the potential of this revolution and to compete and excel in using those means to their advantage.

If we were to ask who are the superstars of this age, the list that anyone of us would come up with would have to include the names of people like Pope John Paul II, Jaqueline Kennedy, Henry Kissinger and Lech Walesa. This list will most certainly also include the name of President Anwar al-Sadat.

Because of their positions as leaders or superpowers, the president of the United States, the secretary general of the Soviet Communist Party or the president of the Chinese Communist Party can automatically command the attention of the world in everything they say and everything they do. If anyone of them has a talent for becoming a superstar, that would be an added benefit. If he did not have that talent, then the power [of his office] alone without the talent for stardom would be enough to create attention. Other politicians have to compete with each other to be in the limelight. When anyone of them is not in the limelight, he ceases immediately to be effective. The fact is that these people are more like great actors without a play and dramatists without a cast. As long as they are in the limelight and as long as that spotlight shines on them from the right angle, their policies will become very influential, and in some cases being in that limelight becomes an alternative to having a policy. It is those who stand alone in the shadows who feel bitter. No one listens to what they have to say, and their interaction with events is relegated to oblivion.

As long as he was in the limelight, a man like Henry Kissinger could afford to be condescending to Congress and even to the White House. Also a man like Pope John Paul II could have ignored many of his critics among the Vatican's cardinals. His name is the only one that is known to the world, and he is the only one the world wants to see and hear.

As far as superstars in the modern age are concerned, the problem is that they are like people riding bicycles. They have to keep moving or they fall to the ground. In fact, they have to move faster and faster because the race among them for the spotlight takes them on an uphill road. Ultimately, however, fame cannot become a substitute for a policy just as fame cannot become a permanent power base that one would count on with assurance as one would count on a full and an effective strategy. Spotlights can hide some weaknesses, and makeup colors under bright lights can dazzle others. But the time will come when the pace will slow down and people's attention will turn away, perhaps because of the appearance of a new superstar in the same field. By that time a superstar would have become like a drug addict. He would have to increase the potency of his daily dosage [to public exposure] so it would have its effect. Thus, when Henry Kissinger began his shuttle diplomacy for the first time, the eyes of the whole world were turned on him as he tried to put the scattered pieces together and reach a cease fire agreement after the 1973 October War. Kissinger had to shuttle four times between Aswan and Tel Aviv to reach an agreement that both Egypt and Israel would sign. However, when he resumed the same shuttle diplomacy later between Israel and Syria, it took him 40 days to come out with a victory and an agreement. It is true that the Syrians were more hard-nosed than the Egyptians, but it is also true that the U.S. secretary of state in his new role as superstar could simply not afford to pay the price for failure. By that time the remaining parties in the negotiations were aware of that and were taking advantage of it.

Besides, none of the superstars can maintain his status by doing something ordinary. A superstar is always expected to do something unusual and unexpected and sometimes even frightening. The motivation for terrorists and kidnappers may be similar. A man like Carlos, for example, may be considered in one way or another, a kind of superstar.

The 1973 October war made President al-Sadat more famous than he was before the war. The successful crossing of the Suez Canal took the world by surprise. In subsequent developments, however, Israeli leaders like Sharon began competing with al-Sadat for the fame that came with the war. Then came Kissinger, and he alone captured the accolades for peace. To maintain the status of a superstar among people who had lived to see a man walk on the moon, al-Sadat now had to pull off something more than a mere battle. This is what al-Sadat did by making his historical trip to Jerusalem in November 1977. When al-Sadat undertook to go on this trip, he actually went beyond the ordinary and the extraordinary as well as the conceivable and inconceivable. It was the trip to Jerusalem that made al-Sadat finally one of the most outstanding superstars in an age of superstars. When al-Sadat stepped out on Ben Gurion Airport on the evening of 20 November 1977, people were not thinking and asking themselves whether or not that trip could achieve the peace that was being sought. What was important about the trip was that it did take place. Of course many people in the West entertained the hope--in some cases it was a desperate hope--that this trip could solve complex, historical problems. People in the West had a direct interest in some of those problems, like the problems of Jews and Zionists, the problems of energy supplies and prices, the problems of the latent possibilities for a possible confrontation between the two superpowers in the Middle East. But no one paused long enough at that time to ask himself how this dramatic feat that he had witnessed could achieve the objectives that had been hoped for.

We must also concede that a superstar creates his own constituency, unlike other notable figures who have to deal with people within the traditional boundaries that are imposed on them by historical and geographical facts. But a superstar appears to be capable of transcending the boundaries of time and place. He appears to be capable of stretching out his hand to millions of people he does not know and to make those people hear him. For such a superstar the standard of failure or success is not measured by the number of votes he gets in an election or the size of the majority that stands behind him in a house of parliament. A superstar's success or failure is measured by the number of times his picture appears on the cover of magazines like TIME and NEWSWEEK and the number of times he appears on the television screen being interviewed by people like Walter Cronkite, Barbara Walters and David Frost. By going to Jerusalem al-Sadat created for himself a broad, world-wide constituency, but he lost the natural base that was his as president of Egypt. Al-Sadat lost his natural constituency in the Arab world. This loss manifested itself tragically at his funeral. A whole galaxy of foreign leaders walked behind the casket at his funeral procession. Three former U.S. presidents and the prime minister of Israel were among those foreign leaders, but there was only a handful of Egyptians among those who came to offer their condolences.

Al-Sadat was one of the leaders of the Third World who understood the potential of the communications revolution. In a country like Egypt television changed the modes of life of ordinary people in a manner whose importance cannot be minimized. Before the television age people were able to recognize any ruler from his pictures which appeared in newspapers. Occasionally they would hear his voice on radio. But television sets brought those leaders live into people's homes. They became a vital part of people's lives, coming into their living rooms and even into their bedrooms. Al-Sadat's problem was that of being a product of the television age and not being able to resist the temptation of using it excessively. He was the first pharaoh of Egypt who came to his people armed with a camera. He was also the first pharaoh of Egypt to be killed by his people. He was a hero of the electronic revolution, but he was also its victim. When he ceased to appear on the television screen, it seemed as though 11 years of his administration had vanished with the touch of a button.

Chapter Two: Roots

The story of the resentment al-Sadat harbored, the resentment which made him turn to violence whenever he had a chance. The wide gap between al-Sadat's early roots and the power and fame that came to him abruptly.

It would be difficult for anyone to imagine a place less suitable for the birth of a superstar than the place where Anwar al-Sadat was born on 25 December 1918. When his fortunes rose and his fame grew, al-Sadat became more aware of the vast gap between his early years and the power and fame that came to him abruptly. The great distance between the two conditions created for him a huge and intractable conflict that gained a hold on him and fully dominated his feelings. In 1974 al-Sadat began a new practice which he adhered to in subsequent years in celebrating his birthday. He would go on his birthday to the village where he was born, the village of Mit Abu al-Kawm where in front of television cameras and under the dazzling lights he would sit down wearing an elegant custom-tailored jellabah and

a luxurious western coat and relate for 2 or 3 hours recollections of his life. The problem was that no two stories he ever related were alike. Every year he would add to these stories and delete from them. He would even contradict a story he had told previously. Sometimes in fact the contradictions were glaring between the new stories and what he had previously said or written in a number of newspapers and magazines he controlled or sponsored. It may be said that al-Sadat wrote the story of his life once every year. In fact, President al-Sadat formed a special committee to which he entrusted the task of preparing a detailed text of the story of his life and of his views as he would have liked them to be. This committee had not completed its task when the true story came to its bloody ending.

Anwar al-Sadat had been destined for a harsh life. His life was more harsh than any story of his life he had tried to give the world. The truth is that the conditions of Anwar al-Sadat's early life could have afforded him more respect had he related that story as it actually happened. Telling that story truthfully would have given people a genuine idea about the circumstances that had stood in his way and the obstacles that he overcame in his life. Unfortunately, however, al-Sadat chose to deal with the story according to his own liking and to embellish or hide whatever he wished. Because the true story can explain more than anything else the character of the man and the nature of the factors that shaped that character, it is important to reconstruct those facts here as they actually were.

Anwar al-Sadat was the son of Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati.* His paternal grandmother was Umm Muhammad al-Sadatiyah. She had given birth to four daughters before giving birth to her only son, Muhammad. However, as is the custom sometimes in rural areas before a male child is born to a woman, Umm Muhammad was known by that name even before her son Muhammad was born. One can easily imagine how overjoyed she must have been when she gave birth to a male child. One can also easily imagine how much Umm Muhammad spoiled that male child, especially in comparison with the four girls who were born to her before Muhammad was born.

The influence Umm Muhammad had on her grandson, Anwar al-Sadat was the strongest influence on him in his early childhood. "I loved that woman very much," was what al-Sadat said in his autobiography which was sold to readers in the West in the latter part of his life under the title, "Search for the Self." [Speaking about his grandmother], al-Sadat went on to say, "She was a woman of strong character, and her wisdom was of the kind that one rarely found." Umm Muhammad was very poor, and this does not detract from her. She was [also] self-supporting. She supported herself by going to the homes of people in the village who were better

* Al-Sadat is the plural form of the word, al-sadah which usually refers to the nobility or the masters of Sufi orders. But al-Sadati denotes a follower of the nobility or a follower of a master of a Sufi order. It is more likely that the term here is an attribution to a master of one of the Sufi orders that are widespread in Egypt's countryside. The surname indicates that al-Sadati was a follower of a Sufi master rather than a Sufi master himself. After the 1952 revolution al-Sadat dropped from his surname the final suffix of attribution: al-Sadati became al-Sadat. However, his file in the military college still shows that his original surname is al-Sadati.

off than she was and selling them different articles such as butter and cheese. The work she did was hard work, but she was determined to provide a better life for her son, Muhammad. She could do that by giving her son an education. This is what she actually did when she sent him to an elementary school after [Muhammad finished] the village school. Then she sent him to a secondary school in Shibin al-Kawm, near Mit Abu al-Kawm where he earned a certificate of competence. Muhammad al-Sadati thus became one of the few people in the village to receive an education.

At that time a British army medical unit--the British army was occupying Egypt at that time--had set up a small camp near Shibin al-Kawm. The medical unit was conducting research on indigenous diseases like bilharziasis and other [diseases transmitted by] water snails. When Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati received his certificate of competence, he was able to get a job with this unit. He worked as part clerk and part nurse, and he also served as translator for the people in the area and the British physicians in the military unit. Now that he had become an educated man holding a job, the title, al-afandi stuck to him more than any other time in the past. His mother thus became known in the village as Umm al-afandi [the gentleman's mother]. Umm Muhammad was now eager to make arrangements for the following step in her son's life. She had begun doing that even before he had completed his education and obtained his job. When he was 13 years old, she had arranged for his marriage to a girl from the village. That wife was al-Sadat's first step-mother. This woman disappeared suddenly from the annals of history. Even the closest members of the family no longer mention her name. She did not bear any children who would keep her memory alive.

A few years after Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati had been working with the British army military unit, that unit received orders to go to Sudan. At that time few Egyptians would think of leaving their villages in the Egyptian countryside. But Muhammad al-Sadati thought that if he left with his unit and went to Sudan, his income would increase. Therefore, he decided to go. Umm Muhammad, who had always looked out for his welfare, decided to find him a new wife who would go with him to Sudan and look after him there. The bride that she chose this time was a girl called Sitt al-Barrayn. She was the daughter of a man called Khayr Allah whose misfortune was to have been captured and driven by a slave merchant from central Africa to a slave market in the Nile Delta where he was sold at that time. When slavery in Egypt was abolished after the anti-slavery campaign was intensified throughout the whole world against this inhuman phenomenon, the masters of Khayr Allah emancipated him. His daughter, Sitt al-Barrayn was exactly like him. She had taken after her father's negroid features. It was also unfortunate--and this is one of the profound complexes in the heart of Anwar al-Sadat--that Anwar al-Sadat inherited all his mother's features and that along with those features he also inherited feelings that remained deep-rooted in his heart.

And so Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati and his new wife went to Sudan before the World War in 1914. His mother had thought that this new wife would be more suitable to the new environment in which her son was going to live. It was in Sudan that Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati began having children from his wife, Sitt al-Barrayn. But he was not prepared to deal with the problems of childbirth in Sudan. So he decided early, as soon as the signs of pregnancy showed on his wife, Sitt al-Barrayn, to send her home to his mother where she would deliver the child under his mother's care.

Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati would send his wife home to his mother every time the time of birth approached. This was a grueling trip that Sitt al-Barrayn repeated four times. She would take the boat that traveled up the Nile, a boat that was overloaded with people and livestock, to the falls. From there she would walk on foot to the train station in Aswan where she would put herself on a crowded train to Cairo. From there she would have to find a way to get to Mit Abu al-Kawm. Sitt al-Barrayn would give birth to her child in Umm Muhammad's home, and she would stay with the child until he was weaned. Then she would leave the child with his grandmother and take the same route back to Khartoum. This process was repeated four times. Sitt al-Barrayn gave birth to three sons--Tal'at, Anwar and 'Ismat--and one daughter, Nafisah. The sons' names reflected the admiration the father had for the leaders of the Turkish Movement which led the revolution against the caliph in 1908.

Anwar al-Sadat says that his father left Sudan in 1925 when the British decided to get the Egyptian army out of that country following the assassination of the commanding general, Sir Lee Stack the previous year. But the truth is that the British medical unit where Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati was employed returned to Egypt in 1922, that is 2 years before the assassination of the commanding general. When they returned to Egypt, they were stationed in al-'Abbassiyah Barracks near Cairo. Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati began looking for a house for himself and his family. He did in fact find a first-floor apartment in a two-story home in Kubri al-Qubbah, a Cairo suburb. The address of the house was 1 Muhammad Badr Street. But Umm Muhammad who had begun to think about her son again in the light of changing conditions realized that the wife who was appropriate for conditions in Sudan would no longer in her opinion be appropriate for the conditions of life in Cairo. And so the mother who in her own way had always looked after her son's interests and happiness began to look for another wife for him. And so Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati married for the third time, and his new wife went to the new house in Cairo.

It is very important to examine carefully the house number 1 on Muhammad Badr Street because that house was the house where al-Sadat spent the formative years of his life, the years during which his character was formed. It was in this house that his experiences, his sentiments and his feelings became intertwined and entangled. Perhaps Anwar al-Sadat's real character cannot be understood without a careful study of the atmosphere that surrounded his formative years and the pressures that prevailed during that critical period of his growth.

Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati moved into his new apartment in 1924. Almost a year later he sent for his family: his mother, Umm Muhammad and his wife, Sitt al-Barrayn and her children. They all went to Cairo to live with him. Until that time al-Sadat had lived with his grandmother in Mit Abu al-Kawm. It may be said that these were his golden years. Al-Sadat himself described those years in his book "Search for the Self," by saying, "Everything in Mit Abu al-Kawm, that village located in the heart of the Delta, made me happy." We have no reason now to think that what al-Sadat said was not the truth and that he did not sincerely mean what he said.

We must now consider what the young boy found in Cairo where he had come. His father's apartment was a model of what conventional apartments in Cairo's modest suburbs were like. The front door led into a large hall which had doors to four rooms that were connected to it. One room was designated for his father, the head

of the household and his new wife, Fatum. The second room was for his grandmother, Umm Muhammad, who had left her old house in Mit Abu al-Kawm to live in her son's house. The third room was for his mother, Sitt al-Barrayn and her four children. The fourth room was unoccupied and was designated for guests, as was the custom then for people who migrated from rural areas to Cairo. But this room did not stay vacant for a long time. Guests came one day to visit, and they had with them their fair-skinned 18-year old daughter whose name was Aminah al-Wurudi. Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati liked her perhaps as soon as he laid eyes on her. He immediately asked for her hand in marriage, and her family accepted. Aminah moved into the apartment, and necessary movements had to be made. Fatum who had not borne any children left her husband's room and moved into the visitors' room, and Aminah moved into the master bedroom. The new wife took her place in the master bedroom. It is easy, of course, for one to imagine what happened to Sitt al-Barrayn who was now sharing the apartment with two wives who had succeeded her in her husband's affections. Of course a wife who is forsaken repeatedly finds herself in the lowest position in a household. She also found herself burdened with almost all the housework. Aminah had succeeded in making herself the only mistress of the household, and she exercised strong influence on her husband. Every month she would take his salary from him, which at that time had reached 30 pounds. Altogether she bore him nine children, one right after the other: two boys and seven girls.

After all of Aminah's children were born, life in the apartment on Muhammad Badr Street became a major problem. That apartment now included the head of the household, his mother, three wives and 13 sons and daughters: four children from Sitt al-Barrayn and nine children from Aminah.

And the matter did not stop there. When Tal'at, the oldest son got married and when al-Sadat himself got married the first time, each one of them brought his wife to that same apartment. In fact, when Aminah's oldest daughter got married, she too brought her husband to live in this crowded environment.

One can imagine what the condition of the boy, Anwar was all that time. He may have missed his life in the village, and he may have yearned for the freedom he knew there. He now had to see his mother return once again to a condition of slavery with the arduous effort she had to make to serve that large family. More than likely her life now was no less demeaning than the life of her father under the laws of slavery. She had become a servant for this entire household. When she would sometimes fail to do what she was supposed to do, Muhammad al-Sadati would not hesitate to beat her up in front of her children and in front of the other wives.

What kind of a life was that which Anwar al-Sadat began to see around him? The happiness he had known in Mit Abu al-Kawm was behind him. He was the second son of a wife whose status in her husband's house had hit rock bottom. No one was interested in his affairs in the midst of this crowd. He was destined to see with his own eyes his mother humiliated daily in front of him. She would be punished

* Muhammad Muhammad al-Sadati's children from Aminah--and they are Anwar al-Sadat's half brothers and half sisters--are in sequence as follows: Sakinah, 'Iffat, Zaynab, Zayn, 'Aishah, 'Atif, Suhayr, Huda and 'Azzah.

for reasons she had nothing to do with and for which she could not be held responsible. Al-Sadat spent most of his time in the room that was occupied by his mother and his other brothers and sister where he would withdraw to a dark corner. Life around him was gloomy, and so he began to be absorbed in his own thoughts. His only escape was to create for himself a fantasy world to which he would escape. The development of his character was affected by a fearful conflict. On the one hand, he realized that there was nothing for him to do but yield to conditions. His mother demonstrated to him the true meaning of that submission. However, under that submission, he felt a profound sense of resentment against conditions. That resentment sometimes manifested itself in glimpses of suppressed violence that would surface if he had an opportunity. This was normal for someone who was torn between reality and fancy and between the truth and the attempt to run away from it. It is noteworthy that when Anwar al-Sadat began to practice the custom of telling the story of his life every year on his birthday, he never dealt with that period of his life although this was the formative period of his life. This was the period of his boyhood, his adolescence and the early years of his youth. The image he wanted the world to see was that of a village child who became an officer and then a revolutionary. But he ran away from and continued trying to run away from the other picture, the picture that contributed more than any other to the development of his character. He was not running away from the cruel experience itself; he was rather beginning to run away from himself as well.

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IBRAHIM SA'DAH COMMENTARY ON EGYPT'S NATIONAL PRESS

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 26 Feb 83 p 8

[Article by Ibrahim Sa'dah: "The Poor 'National' Press"]

[Text] No one shows it any mercy, no one feels pity for it, and no one says a single word of truth about it. On the contrary, they try to kill it without even saying [reciting the standard blessing] "may God have mercy upon it." It is a misleading press, a press that does not take a stand. And if it happens to take a stand, it is certainly against the wishes of the people and again the view of the masses. They are not satisfied with attacking the national press. In fact, they criticize its writers, articles, editors, and other employees. All of them, as they say, are basically petition writers who write only what is dictated to them and do not think except through their masters and express only what goes around in the heads of their masters. The news published by the national press is not believed. The campaigns that it launches have no merit. The opinions advanced by its writers are ridiculed and those who express them are wounded. A writer for the national press has no opinion of his own, takes no stand, has no talent. No benefit is expected from him or from what he writes.

The blows aimed at the national press do not come only from the opposition. They also come from the government. It is often attacked by government officials for some reason or for no reason. They believe these newspapers do not do their duty. They write only negative things and ignore positive things. The writers do not write until they put dark eyeglasses on their noses to blacken everything and anything.

An important government official frequently asks: "What is the national press? Who owns it? Who directs it? For whom does it write and on whose account is it issued? What is published in the press is unacceptable and unjustifiable. Indeed, I do not exaggerate when I say Egypt's national press is the strangest and most surprising in the whole world. It is like the market of 'Ukraz. It permits the publication of conflicting views and contradictory ideas. It devotes space both to articles from the extreme right and to articles from the extreme left. Is this reasonable? Is there a newspaper in any other country

that publishes what a newspaper like AKHBAR AL-YAWM publishes when it prints on the same page an article by Mustafa Amin and another article by Husayn Fahmi? What I know is that newspapers in the capitalist countries publish only what reflects their thinking. The newspapers in the communist and socialist countries do not allow a single word to be printed against their policy and their goals. But you in your so-called national press allow the presentation of all ideas and views, however mutually contradictory they may be."

This important official is not the only one who keeps asking all these questions. Many other ministers and officials are not pleased by the press and do not tire of protesting against it and complaining of it and its writers and their articles. They believe these newspapers mobilize their pages to publish only criticism of the government, one ministry after another, and everything that arouses suspicions about the officials, one after the other. There isn't a single newspaper that hasn't overdone the spreading of charges and endless circulating of criticisms. But if it refrains and agrees to publish some positive things and achievements, it does so after receiving the price in the form of paid advertisements.

I still remember what a minister once told me about our national press. He said:

"The government defrays the cost of the national press and deducts millions of pounds from the annual budget to support national press organizations. The government also compensates failing newspapers for their losses. It provides funds to them to pay the salaries and distribute "profits" to the employees, despite the losses. If the government stopped doing all this, many of the organizations would become bankrupt and their employees would join the unemployment line. Yet nothing is written in those newspapers to affirm their dependence on the government. This is hard to understand or justify. In the capitalist countries where individuals own the newspapers, they are not allowed to publish a single word against the interests of their owners or against their policy. But as for us here in Egypt, the government actually defrays the cost of the newspapers and does not demand a cent of their profits. Despite this, they treat the government as though it were their mortal enemy. Is it reasonable for the situation to continue this way?

While the national press is free from the ridicule of the opposition parties and from criticism by the government, it is not free from the anger of Egyptian public opinion. It is no secret that many segments of the population are dissatisfied with their national press. They do not find everything they expect from it. The reader is not interested in a newspaper (for which he pays 5 piasters) that writes about the glories and achievements of the government. But what he is basically interested in is to read about his problems and hardships and adoption of his demands for relief from his suffering, the availability of food and lowering of prices, solution to the housing crisis, improvement of public services, and having an opportunity to work. He is not so much interested in the achievement of peace with Israel as he is in its being followed by peace between nations, peace in his house, in his work, and in having more comforts in his daily life. He is not concerned with the need to adopt a policy of economic liberalization unless such liberalization solves some of his own pressing problems. He is not so much interested in reading about the shining future

awaiting the Egyptian people in the middle of the 21st century as he is in our talking about his present status and how we can deliver him from his hardships and put an end to his problems which he is unable to solve with the government.

This is what the Egyptian reader expects from the national press. If he buys a newspaper and reads what interests him personally, he is pleased and responds to it. But if he finds it talking about the condition of the world, its misfortunes, disasters, wars, and struggles, he is likely to throw it away and ignore it. And he may stop buying it. He seems to say: "This is not the people's press. It is the government's press."

And so....

Everyone complains about the national press and everyone criticizes it and everyone distrusts what it writes. What is amazing is that those who criticize it are the first who should be asked: What has the press of their country said to deserve criticism and to be the object of accusations and curses?

Among these people are some who accuse today's press of being an "agreeing" press, i.e., it agrees with every decision and policy of the government and with all the measures that it takes. They forget that yesterday's press was no better than today's, if not worse. It is fortunate that they are talking today of the press that exists and is preserved in libraries and in the archives of every press organization. Many of us lived in both periods, with two presses--yesterday's and today's. Those with a good memory will recall the conditions under which yesterday's press existed, how it was, what it wrote, whom it supported and whom it blessed, whom it delighted, whom it attacked, whom it applauded, and with whom it rejoiced.

No one blames yesterday's press for the fact that some newspapers supported the party for which they served as a propaganda tool or the government on which they relied financially. Every party has a newspaper that serves as its organ. It is not reasonable for a party, any party, to put out a newspaper interested only in disparaging its leaders, casting doubt on its policy, and demanding that it be overthrown. What is reasonable is that a party newspaper make the masses like the party that finances it and analyze for them the dimensions of the party's policy, goals, dreams, ideas, achievements, and economic, social, cultural, and religious programs. Sometimes a party allows its newspaper to publish views that may differ with some of the political or economic trends in the party. But it is certain that no party will allow its newspaper to become an opposition newspaper interested only in criticizing it or casting doubt on its achievements. If a party, any party, succeeds in gaining power, it will mobilize its newspaper to support it, agree to its decisions, and urge the masses to rally around its government. This is expected of a party newspaper. This is the purpose of publishing it and the party bears the burden of financing it.

What has been said about the obligations and conformity of a party newspaper can also be said about an independent newspaper, i.e., one controlled by its owner. A newspaper owner is the one who sets its goals and defines its policy. He chooses the writers from among those who agree with the political plan which he has drawn up for it and for them. It may happen that newspaper owners include someone who holds other views so that he publishes from time to time popular articles that may more or less differ from the newspaper's policy. But

it is certain that this difference of opinion will be kept within a tight framework. Otherwise, it would be the end of the writer of the particular article on the pages of that newspaper. It is unreasonable for a newspaper owner to call for a free economy and urge a capitalist system and then allow a communist writer to criticize this system. The same thing can be said about a socialist newspaper that is not allowed to publish rotten capitalist ideas. In neither case are voices raised to accuse those newspaper owners of stifling other views, shackling press freedom, and combating the opposition's view with their views. Every newspaper has its policy and every owner has the right to have written whatever he wishes and prohibit the publication of material inconsistent with his views, ideas, and policy.

The shape of the Egyptian press changed after the multiparty system was abolished and the privately owned newspapers were nationalized. At one time many newspapers were shut down and the ownership of the papers allowed to continue was transferred to the sole ruling party, i.e., ownership was transferred to the state. This initiated a new stage in the history of our Egyptian press.

Much can be said about this stage, the attendant circumstances, situations, and negative features, but the most important thing here is that the "conforming press" has survived for many bitter years. The only difference is that prior to nationalization we had a conforming party press and a conforming privately owned press. The two presses were then merged to produce a conforming government press. The government was the owner of the press and the sole master who had the right to appoint heads of boards of directors and editors-in-chief of the newspapers, just as it alone had the right to fire anyone with a stroke of the pen or a quick telephone call.

It appears that some have forgotten, or perhaps pretend to have forgotten, what was published in the conforming government press during that recent period. A government newspaper was put out, from the first line to the last, to support the government and embrace its decisions, spotlight its glories, revile its adversaries, pillory its opponents, and attempt to persuade public opinion of the soundness of its foreign and domestic actions.

Throughout this period we did not read any criticism of the government. We did not read any view in conflict with government policy. We did not read any complaint about the deterioration of public services. We did not read about an inquiry into the use of influence, illegal profiteers, the indifference of a major official to minor officials, or the disclosure of corruption anywhere. Nor did we read any article demanding that the government halt its meddling in the affairs of the fraternal Arab states. No loud voice was raised in opposition to the participation of our forces in the Congo war or the Yemen war. On the contrary, we read in the papers what was supportive of the government. We read an article written in support of the decision to send troops to attack the separatist movements in Syria. Then we read in the same article about support for the decision not to send troops.

Some wrongly imagine that that period did not have people who did not agree, applaud, and cheer. There was an opposition but it was silent or, more precisely, it was helpless. Everyone in opposition was imprisoned, exiled, forced to

flee, or starve. And in all cases their voices were not heard. What lay before them was only silence and patience.

This period ended after a multiparty system was instituted and permission granted to publish party newspapers. This was the period in which the press regained its freedom, diverse views were presented, and articles reflected differences of opinion. The government press lived on a few years enjoying full freedom. It was given the name of the national press to distinguish it from the party press. All agree that those years witnessed the revival of freedom of speech and freedom of opinion from which the Egyptian press had been deprived for many years in the past.

Unfortunately, this period did not last very long. For many reasons the government was forced to restrict press freedom so it shut down the party newspapers and restricted the freedom of hundreds of adversaries after the decisions of 5 September 1981 and the subsequent violence that reached a peak with the "reviewing stand" incident that claimed the life of the late leader Anwar al-Sadat.

Many assailed those decisions and criticized them after they affected them personally and restricted their freedom. This is their right, but regrettably the fact is that there are some who are now trying to pretend to be courageous and assert that they stood before the dictator and protested openly against those decisions, despite the fact that they know there were live witnesses aware of the truth, and they remember to the letter what was said to the late president Anwar al-Sadat. They know that no one protested because the discussion was on that very subject. The purpose was to listen to the reasons that led President Al-Sadat to take those steps. Consequently, it did not happen that anyone protested or supported one another.

That period in the history of the Egyptian press ended and a new period began, the one which we are now experiencing. It began with the resumption of publication of the party newspapers and the return (from detainment) of all the politicians, journalists, professionals, and men of religion affected by the 5 September decisions. They were allowed to return to their positions and work.

Press freedom was no longer restricted to party newspapers. It was also enjoyed by the national newspapers. Suffice it to note what the French newspaper LE MONDE wrote several days ago: "The Egyptian press is the most liberated and freest in the Middle East." Indeed, I do not exaggerate when I say that the freedom recently granted Egyptian writers was unknown to the Egyptian press of earlier generations. No one who writes in the national or party press is subject to official or unofficial censorship. The editor-in-chief of a national or conforming newspaper, as some colleagues in the opposition press are pleased to call it, is the only person who decides what is and what is not to be published. He is responsible for what appears in the newspaper of which he is the editor-in-chief.

Some colleagues at AL-AHALI, organ of the Rally Party, do not believe this. Nor do they believe that the national press does not receive instructions from the government on what to and what not to publish. If this is what is happening,

as the colleagues at AL-AHALI believe, our government would be the most liberated government in the world and the most understanding of the meaning of respect for opinions and other opinions. These newspapers are available to us and all of us read what they print and follow what the writers and commentators write. The neutral reader can very easily determine whether these national newspapers are conforming or opposing. The neutral reader will find "opposition" in them much more than "conformity." In front of him are dozens of columns, articles, opinions, and cartoons. He will find that while most of them do not oppose the government, they definitely do not agree with it or support it.

Not a day goes by without a "conforming" newspaper carrying one or more articles that disagree with a decision or the behavior of some cabinet minister. Not a day goes by without us reading about an investigation discussed in a "conforming" newspaper that throws light on neglect in providing services and criticizes the regime's domestic or foreign policy. Indeed, the new press has frequently joined the opposition party press in its attacks and criticisms with the same degree of frankness and clarity. This is what led some ministers to ask sarcastically: "Doesn't the government have the right to publish a newspaper to defend it against the attacks of the national press?" Others answer the sarcasm with a sarcasm of a different kind: "Would you believe we are defending ourselves against the charges of our national newspapers in Arabic and foreign newspapers?"

Far from the criticisms leveled by everyone--the opposition, government, public opinion--against the national press, an objective view of the condition of those newspapers leads us to certain facts:

The Consultative Council owns, according to the constitution, all the national press organizations. But it is only an ownership on paper. The Council owns these newspapers only to the extent that the Socialist Union, the National Union, and the Alliance of the Working People owned them before. Indeed, the real world has demonstrated that the new owner is not as lucky as the former owners, for in the days of ownership by the Socialist Union, the employees of these organizations were controlled by the union's leaders and did not publish a single word that deviated from the line drawn by the leaders and assigned to them. As for the new owner, the Consultative Assembly, no one in our national press organizations can speak about this owner's authority or its control or even its existence. Moreover, the national newspapers are usually alone among our newspapers in reporting the sessions of the People's Assembly, debating groups, and important and unimportant interviews, but are stingy in reporting the sessions of the Consultative Council, its official owner, to which it does not devote more than a few lines in a column on an inside page. This is not all. The national newspapers have frequently published articles attacking the Council's ownership of those newspapers. Their writers were not satisfied with that but called for the abolition of the Consultative Council itself. The Council never met to discuss this "rebellion" by those who are working for it and who draw their salaries from it or to order their firing, as owners usually do and as the former owners did in the days of the National Union and the Socialist Union.

Every newspaper in the world has a political line which it adheres to and which it reflects except Egypt's national newspapers. They are unique in not adhering to any political line, as evidenced by what they publish daily in the way of contradictions appearing on every single page. A national newspaper is published for writers of the right, writers of the center, and writers of the left in a single issue and sometimes on the same page. And even writers of the same political orientation frequently differ from one another in their commentaries and essays. Some of them support a particular policy while others criticize it. Some of them also reject it and find fault with it.

As I said before, a newspaper owner in the capitalist countries is the one who determines its policy, style, and limits exactly as does the ruling party that owns the newspapers in the socialist states. As for Egypt's national newspapers, no one determines their policy and no one prescribes its style and limits. The fact is the new press law determined all these lines, but a quick look at the reality shows that no one adheres to them or is interested in applying them. Even regarding democratic principles themselves, we find that the national newspapers frequently ignore them. For example, just to name a few there is the obligation to the 23 July and 15 May revolutions, but despite this obligation, the writers on the national newspapers or the conforming newspapers, as some unjustly describe them, are divided into groups. One group is interested only in criticizing the 23 July revolution while another group has no goal other than to revile the Corrective Movement of 15 May 1971. Sometimes the ruler calls attention to this error. Despite this, criticism continues and the reviling does not cease. It's amazing that the national newspapers publish articles by those who criticize 'Abd al-Nasir as well as by those who revile Anwar al-Sadat at the same time and perhaps on the same page.

Since the Egyptian press was nationalized and its ownership reverted to the "people", the first and last words within those organizations were the ruler's. The "directives" reached the press leaders directly from the ruler or through someone acting for him, e.g., the minister of information. The heads of the press organizations carried out those "directives" very scrupulously, presenting one opinion and uniform news and carefully prescribed commentary. They were far from any of the troubles that holders of other opinions could cause them and so in effect they would not publish anything which could upset them and they were not concerned with their objectives and did not accuse holders of other opinions of being enemies of freedom and [word illegible] of authority. The editor-in-chief justified his actions by saying that he was an innocent bystander. He is powerless before the directives from on high. With this excuse the editor-in-chief gained the goodwill of the government by spotlighting its glories. He secured the silence of the opposition which appreciated his circumstances and limitations. And he gained the indulgence of public opinion which soon forgot and pretended to have forgotten what he said and what he wrote.

The situation was different with the new ruler Husni Mubarak, for as soon as he took office he announced he would not concern himself with what appears in the national or party newspapers or meddle in what they write and publish. Nor would he dictate to a writer what he should write or issue "directives" setting the information policy which the heads of the press organizations had to follow and adhere to. His meeting with them all would be at infrequent intervals and

at the conclusion of every foreign trip he made. In those meetings the president would answer the questions of the editors-in-chief about the visit and try to explain some trends in foreign or domestic policy that the press could publish in their entirety in the next day's newspapers. According to the president, and except for what was just said the president would not issue any instructions, directives, or criticisms of what is written in the newspapers. Responsibility, as he says, rests with the journalists themselves, for they know what benefits their country and what harms it by what they write and publish.

For all these reasons the national press has become what the reader now sees every morning. Its pages are open to all views, the opposition's view before the endorser's view, criticism before applause, and sorrow before rejoicing. Day after day the space in the national press devoted to "opposition" grows while the space devoted to "agreement" diminishes. Despite this, some colleagues on the opposition newspapers do not believe what is written in the national press and they still assert that "directives from on high" to the editors-in-chief tell them what to criticize and what to bless, even when a writer in a national newspaper writes an article in which he objects to the election system with the unrestricted list. It is the system that the ruling party still clings to. Some opposition newspapers do not support the writer or side with him but deride and attack him, charging that he does not express his opinion (this has aroused the anger of some leaders of the ruling party) except in carrying out the directives that reach him from the president of the republic.

Didn't I say that the national press is unjustly treated these days? For the government is not pleased with it. The opposition ridicules it and reviles its leaders. And public opinion does not tire of charging that it ignores its daily sufferings. Those who work on the daily newspapers themselves are bewildered at these circumstances, disturbed over their situation.

The daily press above all does not know how to please all of these people. Some say the only way is to change, i.e., change all the present press leaders [personalities] so that fairness would be established, conditions improve and everyone would be pleased. If this view is sound, welcome to the change!

52'4

CSO: 4504/229

ARMED FORCES' INVOLVEMENT IN CIVILIAN PROJECTS DISCUSSED

Agricultural Projects in al-Qalyubiyah, al-Sharqiyah

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 28 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Hasan 'Ashur and 'Abd-al-Majid al-Shawadfi]

[Text] Mubarak makes a surprise visit to the armed forces' food security projects in al-Qalyubiyah and al-Sharqiyah. The aim of the projects is to create an agricultural and an industrial production base to cover the needs of the armed forces and solve the problems of the public.

In the course of 6 hours yesterday President Husni Mubarak reviewed the food security projects that are being carried out by the armed forces and the Ministry of Agriculture during his on-site visit to the governorates of al-Qalyubiyah and al-Sharqiyah. The president visited the areas of Shubra Shihab in the governorate of al-Qalyubiyah; Anshas and al-Tall al-Kabir in the governorate of al-Sharqiyah; and Ismailia.

President Mubarak's visit was part of a series of surprise visits he has been making to work and production sites to find out about the course of operations and to remove obstacles that may be impeding production requirements. The president was accompanied during his visit by Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and military production; by Dr Yusuf Wali, the minister of agriculture; and by Lt Gen 'Abd Rabb al-Nabi Hafiz, the chief of staff.

The president arrived in the area of Shubra Shihab at 9:30 yesterday morning where he was greeted by Mr 'Umar 'Abd-al-'Aakhar, the governor of al-Qalyubiyah; by Maj Gen Muhsin Sidqi, assistant minister of defense for engineering projects and for [other] projects; and by Maj Gen Qadri 'Uthman, assistant minister of defense and chairman of the Organization and Management Board.

After the president shook hands with those who were on hand to greet him, he and his entourage went to Dairy Production Unit Number 1, which is affiliated with the armed forces' food security sector. There the president listened to an explanation by Maj Gen Sa'id 'Ali, chairman of the Provisions and Supply Committee. Maj Gen 'Ali spoke about the armed forces' productive activities in food security projects.

The chairman of the committee said, "The armed forces first became involved in food security projects in 1974. The armed forces broke into that field in 1981 by expanding their meat, eggs and poultry production and by reclaiming and cultivating land. The armed forces did this for the purpose of creating an agricultural and an industrial base that would meet the needs of the armed forces and help solve citizens' problems." Maj Gen Sa'id 'Ali, chairman of the Provisions and Supply Committee of Dairy Production Unit Number 1 in Shubra Shihab said, "The Dairy Production Unit has 625 dairy cows, of Frisian and Jersey stock. The unit produces between 4 and 6 tons of milk and dairy products annually plus 193 tons of meat a year." At the unit President Mubarak saw the dairy cows, a section where cows give birth, a section for small calves, three sections for pregnant cows, a section where cows are milked by automatic devices, a section for unrestricted cows, a section for cows that are being raised for slaughter, a dairy plant and a feed plant.

At the unit the president reviewed the feed plant which produces 40 tons of feed a day. The feed is made from bran, yellow corn, oil cake, cotton seed and barley. At the unit the president saw a scale model of the project. [Altogether] the president spent 75 minutes visiting that plant.

After that the president went to the egg production unit number 1 in Anshas. This was the unit with which the armed forces had started this kind of production, in keeping with the armed forces' policy of achieving self-sufficiency. At the egg production unit in Anshas President Mubarak listened to an explanation by Maj Gen Muhammad 'Arif al-Dijwi, chairman of the armed forces' food security sector. Maj Gen al-Dijwi said, "The armed forces have contracted for the construction of four egg production farms. Operations have started in two of them. The first one in Anshas began operating in October 1981; it was built on an area of 70 feddans. The second farm is in (Huckstep). The third is in al-Tall al-Kabir, and it will begin operating next April 16. The fourth will [also] be in (Huckstep), and groundwork laying operations for that project will be completed."

The chairman of the armed forces' food security sector said that these four units were producing 60 million eggs a year. He said the production capacity of each unit was 15 million eggs a year. He said, "Because we believe in the need to integrate the factors of production, Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah ordered us to double production targets for the present project so that production would increase to 120 or 140 million eggs a year. Accordingly, the components of the complex will include a mating unit, a hatching unit and a unit for producing eggs for human consumption. A feed plant with a production capacity of 10 tons of feed per hour will be established to provide feed for these units. In addition, an automated slaughter house will be set up. Construction will take place in the area of Anshas, and implementation will take place with the co-operation of the Ministry of Agriculture."

After that the president reviewed the sections of the unit where he listened to an explanation from Maj 'Atif al-Baksawi about the method of operation in the sections. The president spent more than half an hour at the unit.

At 11:45 [a.m.] the president and his entourage arrived at the 6 October Project for egg production in the area of Anshas. He was greeted there by Mr Muhammad Amin Mitkis, governor of al-Sharqiyah.

At the beginning of the visit the president unveiled the commemorative plaque inaugurating the final stage of the project which includes 3 stations for producing 60 million eggs a year besides a receiving station for servicing the production stations.

The president listened to an explanation that was presented by Engineer Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam, director of the stations. Mr 'Abd-al-Salam talked about the stages and the costs of implementing the project which cost 5 million pounds, and he explained how the produced eggs are distributed. The president asked questions about sale prices, the quantity of production and actual costs. Mahmud Abu Gharib, president of the Public Society for Agrarian Reform, which implemented the project using its own resources, reviewed the projects that are being implemented in a number of agrarian reform regions in the various governorates. These projects are being funded by farmers' returns at agricultural societies.

In the armed forces' desert reclamation and cultivation area in al-Tall al-Kabir the commander of the unit reviewed in front of the president data pertaining to the region's agricultural products. There are 12,000 feddans in this region and its crops include beans, sesame, potatoes and peas. There is also an experiment in cultivating lentils. The president began his visit by reviewing the farming products exhibit and the area where cattle are fattened. There are 2,500 heads of cattle in that unit. The president asked that cattle fattening operations be expanded so that meat can be provided. The president also reviewed the exhibit of mechanical equipment for farming, and he saw part of the farming that is going on in the region. He asked that agricultural mechanization be expanded, and he asked that all kinds of equipment necessary for servicing desert land be provided to counter the shortage in farm labor.

The president asked that operations for using and providing irrigation water from its principal sources be regulated instead of relying on water from wells and on ground water in reclamation operations.

The president asked Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah to send an armed forces delegation to the automated slaughter house that was recently established in al-Zaqaziq so that the experience [that's been gained] there can be put to good use. The capacity of that automated slaughter house is 170 heads per shift. The president asked that each kind of food security activity be grouped and intensified in a specific area instead of scattering those activities in separate areas. He asked that the cultivation of trees for lumber be expanded in desert areas so that lumber can be provided, and he asked that cultivation of a new strain of wheat whose experimental cultivation was successful in Sawhaj be expanded. That wheat is used in manufacturing noodles, and noodles can thus be made available in the regions of Upper Egypt.

Armed Forces Producing Cement

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 9 Apr 83 p 13

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Mun'im]

[Text] The armed forces and their role in development projects: an integrated plan aims to increase cement production.

Some people have expressed their worries and their fears in the media on more than one occasion that the numerous functions which have been entrusted to the armed forces in the civilian field may affect their basic duty and their combat function.

No one can deny that these worries and fears are the product of the sincere feelings that stem from an appreciation of the basic task that has been placed on the shoulders of our armed forces. At the same time, however, anyone who knows the nature of work within these forces knows quite well that the armed forces constitute an integrated human community that is capable of doing everything which that community needs, from the loaf of bread and [the installation of] water lines, to drainage systems, transportation lines and home construction. At the same time the armed forces also have that special ability to protect the state's establishments and vital targets, and they can threaten similar establishments and targets inside the territory of any enemy.

The armed forces thus constitute an integrated and a homogeneous community in which we find bakers alongside demolition and explosives experts. We find in that community those who tend to wounds and heal them as well as those who operate weapons or equipment that kills and destroys. It is with such homogeneity and with such a team spirit that fighting nations like Japan and Germany proved their superior ability to build the economic structure of the state. It is because of this experience that all the countries of the world--and the basic problem in the world today is an economic problem--have begun to turn to their military institutions to utilize them in various civilian areas including the economic area.

Locally, therefore, the experiment that the armed forces is going through at the present time may be new, but it is not new at all in the world. It is not new in the east and not new in the west. In fact, we started this experiment somewhat late after our economic problem had reached a dangerous stage.

In this respect the most recent field that the armed forces has gone into is that of manufacturing cement. That came about when the Council of Ministers charged Field Marshal 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and military production, with the task of drawing up a strategy for manufacturing cement in Egypt. This was after we had a severe shortage in this strategic product. It may be appropriate here to mention that in 1970 consumption of cement in the whole country was about 2 million tons, whereas consumption of cement in the armed forces alone was half a million tons. This was during the war of attrition when the armed forces built missile bases and defence emplacements for airplanes, which became a model that both Warsaw Pact countries and NATO countries adapted after their effectiveness was confirmed during the glorious October War.

We mention this to indicate that although it is unusual for the armed forces to be involved in the cement industry, such an involvement is not new for the armed forces whose activities include all the aspects of life in human society in whose ranks we find experts in every kind of activity.

A study carried out by those experts showed that in 1960 Egypt produced about 2 million tons of cement and exported 632,000 tons. That is, actual cement consumption in Egypt was about 1.3 million tons. In 1970 actual cement production

was 3.5 million tons, and consumption was 2.5 million tons. One million tons of cement were exported. But in 1982 cement production amounted to 4 million tons, but consumption rose sharply to 10 million tons, 5 times the consumption of 1970.

Accordingly, if we were to calculate the average annual growth in cement consumption and if we considered that to be 7 percent on the average--and this is a modest estimate--this would mean that the expected rate of consumption in 1990 will be about 18.5 million tons a year. By the year 2000 that rate will be about 34 million tons. This is despite the fact that average per capita cement consumption in Egypt is 60 percent less than average per capita cement consumption in advanced countries, where that figure is 600 kilograms a year. The average rate of per capita cement consumption in Egypt now is 227 kilograms a year.

If we were to take into account the fact that we are presently suffering from a major housing shortage requiring the construction of 3 million housing units, in addition to the fact that there are 4,200 villages whose homes are not at all fit for human habitation; if we were to take into account also the need to eliminate the problem of removing the top soil from farm land and solving the problem of bricks by manufacturing cement bricks; and if we were to take into account the fact that we need to use cement in paving roads instead of the bitumin which we are importing at the present time and whose prices have risen so much that bitumin is now more expensive than cement--if we take all this into account--we will find it necessary to increase per capita cement consumption in Egypt to about 600 kilograms a year. Consequently, the volume of expected consumption could skyrocket to dangerous proportions.

To fill the gap between the quantity of production anticipated in 1990 and the quantity of anticipated consumption, the study showed that it was necessary to build eight new plants: in Bani Suwayf, west of the Nile, in the Turah quarry, in Qina, in Sinai, in al-Qatamiyah and in Suez. Production capacity of these plants will amount to 6.5 million tons, and this is hardly enough--besides what is available at the present time--to make us self-sufficient. We would not have any surplus for export.

The study also dealt with all the technical aspects of this matter: natural resources, plants, means of transportation and storage. One of the most important points mentioned in the study is the fact that the cement industry in Egypt is suffering more than any other industry in the country from the fact that it is being drained of its workers. After realizing enormous fortunes from their oil, Arab countries around us have been building new cities and enormous projects, all of which need cement, an industry which has become one of the foremost industries in those countries. Of course Egypt was the principal source for supplying the necessary labor for these plants. Egyptian plants were not able to keep up with training new workers after the situation got to the point that engineers and workers with no more than 2 or 3 years of experience were signing contracts to work in Arab countries. What complicated the problem further was the fact that the new plants in Egypt are being operated by computers and central control rooms. This requires very specialized workers and a need to look for various assurances that would make it attractive for workers in that field to stay in Egypt and work in Egyptian plants and not go abroad to work.

One of the most curious facts confirmed by that study is the fact that the public buys a ton of cement for about 65 pounds although a ton costs about 47 pounds and

the state sells it for only 31 pounds. This is because the state subsidizes the fuel that is used in manufacturing cement.

One of the suggestions worthy of note is regarding the state abolishing the subsidy and selling a ton of cement at a price that would enable it to make a reasonable profit, at the current market price [for example]. This would yield tremendous benefits to the state, to the public and to the people who work in the cement industry, those whom we very much want to keep in Egypt. We do not want them to go abroad.

It is only with such scientific studies that the state can find its way in the future. It is only with such studies that the state will not be taken by surprise [and confronted] with crises or with the unexpected. This is because scientific calculations can give a clear picture of various conditions one can expect. This is the basic method that the armed forces or rather all modern societies are using. Why not utilize these resources? Why not resort to the same method?

8592

CSO: 4504/315

ABU GHAZALAH SPEAKS AT MILITARY MOBILIZATION SEMINAR

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 2 Mar 83 p 1

/Text/ The armed forces are now reorganizing the draft board to make it a draft and mobilization board, in addition to amending the mobilization law in light of the organization and development of its apparatus.

Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production, speaking at the opening of the Strategic Seminar on the Development of a Mobilization System for the Armed Forces, announced that constant pursuit of military technological development has made it necessary for us to reassess and develop our system of mobilization. We are at a stage in our history where we need to preserve our defense capabilities and increase their effectiveness in order to preserve the peace which we have chosen and enjoyed, to guarantee freedom of national will for our country, and to preserve the integrity of our land. To do this we must possess a deterrent force which is able to prevent any unrest or wars in the region.

The field marshal confirmed that our assessments of the threats which surround us must not be limited to one direction, at this stage in particular, but must take all directions into consideration (especially the south, to protect integration with our sister Sudan).

Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah said that mobilization basically deals with manpower, materiel and morale. Hence, any change in the levels of technology which we use will influence our concepts of military strategy and will also affect the size and nature of the manpower needed to use this complicated modern technology.

Maj Gen Qadri 'Uthman, assistant minister of defense and chairman of the board which organized and ran the seminar, said that the development of military science and increased costs make it impossible for any state to maintain very large forces in peacetime because they are such a burden to its economy. Thus the states of the world have adopted a system of mobilization, as we must.

He said that conscription at the next stage will be in accordance with strategic trends, and communications networks have been developed in the armed forces to conform to the development of the system of mobilization.

The seminar will issue its recommendations today. Those attending yesterday were Engineer Jamal al-Sayyid, the minister /of State/ of war production, Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, minister of planning; Safwat al-Sharif, minister of information; and a number of leaders from the armed forces and the police.

7587

CSO: 4504/219

SYMPOSIUM ON CLEARING WESTERN DESERT OF WORLD WAR II MINES

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 5 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] Destructive mines are still in existence deep under the ground of Egyptian land which had been left there since World War II. Throughout this period they were a threat to human lives in an area of 1,000 kilometers inside the western desert.

Twenty-two million Egyptian pounds and at least 20 years of clearing operations are now needed to have the mines removed completely so that the area may be free from the danger of death from mine explosions.

During World War II, and in no other place but the western desert were such a great number of mines planted in an area which covered one thousand square kilometers. These minefields have caused many accidents including thousands of casualties among the residents of that area. They have also hindered, to a great extent, agricultural, industrial and progressive development of the western desert.

The problems which Egyptians began to face after 1947 became more complicated due to lack of accurate documents to locate the position of the mines, with the exception of few maps which the Egyptian armed forces had received from the British army during their evacuation of Egypt. Few other maps were also obtained last year from the German Government which indicated the position of mines in al-'Alamayn district where several battles had been fought between Britain and Germany. But some of the information contained in these maps are unfortunately not accurate.

One of the most prominent problems which we are now facing is the fact that these mines happen to be planted in a widespread area and in different depth and distances. On the other hand, the countries which were engaged in war over Egyptian territory during World War II have given us maps which show only the general areas of mines, without showing their actual positions, by placing appropriate distinctive marks through which it would be possible to locate mines of friendly countries [sic]. This is called in military definition "recordings of mine fields".

The nature of the desert land itself has caused further problems where moving sandhills uncover the location of certain minefields, while on the other hand

they cover up other mine fields in other areas, a matter which makes it difficult to locate these minefields.

Staff Major General Mahmud Fahim 'Abd-al-'Aziz, director of the engineering corps, has stated that despite all these problems, the armed forces were able within the period 1947-1956 to clear an area of 70 kilometers completely. After a period of stoppage, however (as a result of the tripartite aggression), they began clearing another 400 kilometers partially, until the year 1967. This speedy operation came as a result of oil discovery and the appearance of various minerals in the western desert. These partially cleared areas were designated "questionable areas", since only specific parts of them were cleared of their mines because of the requirements that had to do with exploration operations for oil and minerals. In fact an area of 530 kilometers still remain untouched and uncleared in the western desert. Clearance of this portion, in addition to the "questionable areas", would require an amount exceeding 22 million Egyptian pounds and about 20 years of clearing operations based on the present speed of operations.

Delegations Of 5 Countries in Egypt

It is natural that Egypt must not bear the burden of the countries which fought on its territory, causing death and injury to many people and hindering the development and prosperity of the area. Thus, Deputy Premier and Minister of Defense Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah called for an international symposium to study clearing the western desert from war mines. Five nations have agreed to participate, three of which had fought in World War II, namely, Britain, Germany and Italy. The other two, the U.S. and France--having considered that humanitarian and social aspects for reviving an area that has suffered from the catastrophes of war was worth offering generous cooperation by civilized countries to reflect the readiness of those countries in offering fruitful international cooperation in time of peace--agreed to join the symposium and have offered all in their ability in supporting any project that may open new horizons for development of the western desert.

Major General Mahmud Fahim 'Abd-al-'Aziz went on to say that Egypt has submitted a number of requests, to the countries participating in the symposium, most prominent of which are the following:

- Submitting documents in possession of those countries [where applicable] on minefields and other amunitions existing in the area.

- Offering whatever advanced technology that those countries can offer for removal of the mines.

- Extending expertise in locating minefields buried in various depth in the ground due to movement of desert sandhills.

- [Offering ideas on] How to face the problem of insuring individuals to be employed in the operation of removing minefields, and the impact of such efforts on the achievement of speedy results as well as on reduction of costs and safety of lives.

-Defining the volume and type of effort which the participating countries can contribute for this purpose.

-Setting up a joint working group of specialized representatives of armed forces of participating countries to study the documents obtained from all sources, to combine them, and determine the procedure of work in removing the minefields.

Technology and Experience In Clearing Operations

During the stay of the 5 countries' delegations in Cairo, detailed discussions were held as to what each country can offer in the way of information about the minefields including techniques, technology, experience as well as financial support necessary to speed up the completion of this huge task.

The German side submitted more accurate maps and documents, complementary to the information submitted by Germany earlier. It also presented information on certain advanced means and ways of mine removal.

The convening delegations then pointed out to a basic procedure adopted by the western countries, especially by NATO forces, namely, to entrust clearing operations of minefields to specialized companies in time of peace, under the supervision of representatives of the armed forces of the country concerned. The role of the army in clearing mines would be restricted to the times of war only.

Nevertheless the heads of delegation of the participating countries have cabled to their governments the Egyptian requests and advised them of the result of their discussions in Cairo, so that the steps which may be taken by each country could be defined.

The United States, although not involved in war on Egyptian territory during World War II, has already offered to apply its most modern methods of discovering mines by aerial photography, by using infrared rays and electronic devices, and on how to ensure the safety of individuals engaged on removal of minefields.

Aerial Photography of Mines

The British delegation took aerial photographs of the minefields by using airplanes equipped with special navigational equipments and modern electronic devices in addition to using infrared rays. British experts have stated that the most convenient time of photography is after 1 1/2 hours following sunrise or 1 1/2 hours before sunset. It is strange that this method of aerial photography shows all kinds of metallic substances in the area of search, including any mines. But due to our dire need for further information on the minefields, this kind of aerial photography can give us at least the opportunity to have a fair indication of the areas of mines.

But the question which presents itself is why do we make such great efforts and bear such huge expenses to have the mines removed from the western desert?

The answer is that the population of Egypt is expected to reach 70 million in the year 2000. The population of the western desert has now reached 140,000. In accordance with figures of the regional planning department, 750,000 people can reside in this area before the year 2000.

On the other hand, the strategy of developing the coastal area includes reclamation of 60,000 acres of land at the present time. This could be expanded to cover an area of 245,000 acres within few years in the districts of al-Dab'ah, Fukah, and west of Marsa Matruh. It would also be possible to develop the residential status of certain cities such as al-Hammam, Sidi Kurayr, Al-Dab'ah, Ra's al-Hikmah, Hawalah Baggush, Marsa Matruh, Sidi Barrani, and al-Sallum.

Also planned for the area are: An international airport to develop tourism; ways for providing higher capacity of electrical energy; ways to develop handicrafts; and ways to provide educational and health care, apart from developing the potential of existing oil resources and [expanding] mining projects in the area.

9902

CSO: 4504/228

CENTRAL AUDIT AGENCY REPORTS ON PUBLIC SECTOR FACTORY LAND

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 24 Feb 83 p 5

/Article by Hasan Amir: "Report of Central Audit Agency: Unregistered Land of Public Sector Companies"/

/Text/ The Central Audit Agency accused the legal offices in a number of public sector companies of negligence and indifference concerning the real estate interests of the companies.

It said that the offices neglected to register land on which about 60 companies and factories were built.

The agency confirmed that the acreage of this land is subject to appropriation as a result of this negligence.

The agency's report recorded certain facts in this field:

Nasir Television and Electronics owns 40,000 /square/ meters in the Dar al-Salam region which have not been registered, and families have settled on part of it.

Nasir Electrical and Electronic Equipment: Company property includes 7,246 square meters which have not been registered, and the company is building a warehouse for wrapping and packaging supplies and a warehouse for butane gas on it.

The Egyptian Heating Company has purchased 1,918 meters in Aswan since 1977 and has not yet registered them.

Engineering projects for steelworks, Steelco: The company has not yet defined the legal situation of the 19,000 square meters of land on which its factory is situated.

The Cairo Mineral Products Company has not yet concluded settlement of disputes over land purchased since 1964 on which its Imbahah factory is located (12,000 meters) and also part of the Shubra factory.

Egyptian Electrical Cables purchased 26 feddans in Musturud for which it paid 60,000 pounds, and this land has not yet been registered.

Delta Industrial "Ideal" has not completed steps to register 112,000 square meters of land which the company purchased on the Isma'iliyah road for 2.2 million pounds in 1979.

Iron and Steel: Although 25 years have passed since the factory was built, the value of the appropriated land has not yet been established, and it has not been registered.

The Delta Steel Company still has not registered land which it purchased years ago.

The Nasir Foundry has not completed registration of the company's land at Cairo and Alexandria refineries.

The phenomenon was repeated in the report on drug companies. The agency said that the companies were advised more than once that it was necessary to register their land quickly, but the admonition was ignored year after year.

In response to the agency's observations, the company replied that most of the land was government land and there was no fear of delay in registering it. As for the rest of the land, it is held by heirs in joint ownership, and it is difficult to settle the matter with them. The problem is complicated by the loss or absence of some records, and without them it is impossible to take the steps required to register the property.

The report on the supply and internal distribution companies said that the phenomenon is present in Egyptian Wholesale Food Distributors, Jericho Refrigeration and Engineering, and Upper Egypt Mills.

It is also repeated in the al-Tabbin plant of the General Mineral Company, Egypt Engineering and Tools, and Egyptian Mineral Products.

It is rare that the problem exists in some contracting companies, agriculture and land reclamation, and internal and external trade.

7587

CSO: 4504/219

HOUSING CO-OPS LACK SUPERVISORY CONTROL

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 19 Feb 83 p 6

/Article by Ahmad Gharib: "1,500 Housing Co-ops Without Supervision!
1,000 Inspectors Needed, Only 35 Available!"

/Text/ Discussions among members of the board of directors of the Central Housing Cooperative Federation disclosed some important facts about the lack of adequate supervision over 1,500 housing cooperative societies, of which 1,000 are in Greater Cairo and the rest in the governorates.

It was disclosed that the Supervisory Agency of the Cooperative Authority needs 1,000 inspectors and examiners. It was also revealed that some societies have not submitted their budgets since they were established, although the housing cooperative law says that each cooperative must submit its budget every 6 months for audit and study by the Cooperative Authority and the Housing Cooperative Federation.

Thirty-five Inspectors for Cooperatives

Engineer Ahmad al-Basal, head of the Central Administration for Cooperation and Conveyance of Property in the Cooperative Authority, spoke about the shortage of administrative and fiscal inspectors. He said that there are only 35 inspectors supervising 1,500 cooperatives, although each cooperative should have four field visits a year. The authority needs 1,000 new inspectors to audit and inspect the cooperatives on a regular and continuous basis.

Cleaning Up Cooperatives

Counselor Ahmad Khafaji, reporter from the Planning Committee of the Housing Federation, said that there is indeed deviation among the cooperatives, but it is very limited, and the cooperative features are unlimited. The Cooperative Authority and the cooperatives have prepared a file for each cooperative describing the type of society and its plans.

He said that cooperative societies which have not submitted plans within a year after their establishment are being referred to the planning committee, which has been in existence for a year now. He said that a memorandum was submitted last week to Engineer Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, minister of reconstruction and

minister of state for housing, concerning the situation of supervision over the societies and containing two proposals: increasing the supervisory apparatus to 200 members in the Cooperative Authority; transferring supervision of the societies to the governorates because they are closer to the work and activity of each cooperative, with the provision that the federation would establish a cooperative federation in each governorate to take charge of supervision and inspection.

True Supervision

Muhammad Rashad, a member of the board, called for the establishment of true supervision over the societies to avoid the deviations which have occurred and to make a complete survey of them to learn the facts about their activities and their work. This is because the field of cooperative housing involves dealings in land and apartments, although this sector is the only means to solve the crisis, not only in Egypt but in all the countries of the world.

Fayidah Kamil, a member of the People's Assembly, asked that each society be required to submit its budget and its activities to the federation and the Cooperative Authority every 3 or 4 months to confirm its soundness.

Checking Supervision

Kamal Badawi, permanent secretary of the Housing and Reconstruction Committee of the People's Assembly, confirmed that supervisory operations have been tightened since the issuance of Law 14 for 1981 concerning housing cooperatives and since the formation of the planning committee, because the law stipulates that a society must submit its budget within 6 months after it is established, and delay in doing so is one of the basic reasons for dissolving its board of directors.

He asked that supervision over the cooperatives be strengthened by giving direction to the cooperative leadership of the societies, because they are volunteers and simply need direction.

Negative and Positive Points

Muhammad al-Batran, member of the People's Assembly and chairman of the New Horizons Housing Society, asked that supervision be pursued in a regular, organized manner to protect the structure, since the new housing cooperative law contains rules and regulations to control the societies, the supervisory apparatus of the authority, the Housing Cooperative Federation, and the members and beneficiaries of the housing projects.

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CSO: 4504/219

BRIEFS

AL-AQSA MOSQUE AID--Agreement has been reached on building a new minbar /pulpit/ for al-Aqsa Mosque to replace the one which burned in 1969. It is being built in Egypt according to plans which correspond to those for the original minbar of Salah-al-Din. That was decided yesterday during a meeting between Muhammad Hasan al-Tihami, deputy prime minister and secretary-general of the Authority for the Restoration of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Holy Places in Arab Jerusalem, and H.E. Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Qatan, magistrate and head of the Authority to Restore the Jordanian Holy Places. Also, cooperation between the two was coordinated to resume joint work on completing repairs of the holy places in Arab Jerusalem, especially those damaged in recent years. /Text/
/Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 24 Feb 83 p 1/ 7587

CSO: 4504/219

FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE DISCUSSES PATH TO POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 3 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Muhammad Hasan Zaki: "AL-SAHFAH Continues Its Coverage of the Discussions Taking Place During the Meetings of the Political Committee at the Conference: 'Tribal Thinking Is an Obstacle to the Process of Development, and It Is Necessary to Overcome It in Order to Protect Our National Welfare'"]

[Text] Our foreign policy and steps toward integration of the two Nile Valley nations are praised.

Expansion of the realm of the political symposiums, and bringing them to the local neighborhoods and areas.

Prof Ahmad 'Abd-al-Halim expressed his happiness about the fact that the committee was dealing with the introductory chapter which presented the general orientation of the program and was dealing with the modernization of education. He said: "Our concern is not to make recommendations because the program intends to come up with a statement which will express the thoughts and spirit of this conference."

He went on to say: "The introductory chapter of the program is a comprehensive and total one, and it deals with some of the essential issues which are of concern to contemporary intellectuals. The question of national unity is one which must be dealt with for the sake of self-assertion. This concept is one which pervades all of the chapters of the program. From this fact one clearly sees that the very question of identity is a question of self-reliance, self-confidence, and self-discipline. The basic premise of this issue is that of creating such human beings, and this is the proper prelude to being able to develop the place where these human beings live. The program is considered to be an idea for a national model for achieving a modern cultural renaissance in Sudan. This cultural renaissance includes many considerations since we have decided to delve into the basic elements of our existence as well as the formative elements of our present-day life and our aspirations for the future.

"This program is one which strikes a balance between indigenous authenticity, the modern age, and life in the future by means of utilizing cultural

thought as a basis to study the present day and to point out what could happen in the future. Furthermore, the program reaffirms the fact that the political experience which we have had between the time of this present conference and the previous conference, as well as before both of these conferences, has shown that we have made the proper basic choices upon which our political and organizational theory is based and which stresses the fact that the doors of our organization are open to all citizens and to a diversity of opinions, in order that people be able to express themselves and their ideas. This is one of the basic principles of the May revolution and its political and organizational theory which has made possible the existence of diversity within the framework of a single political organization."

Prof Ahmad 'Abd-al-Halim then added: "Those who talk about the dictatorial nature of a system involving a single political organization stress the fact that there is no opportunity for diversity in such a system. But this is true only from the theoretical point of view. From the actual practical point of view, the revolution has provided an opportunity for diversity of opinions and ideas within the framework of the single political organization and within the framework of a general common orientation concerning matters brought up. We do not wish to have different forums because we do not want a multiparty system."

Prof 'Abd-al-Halim then took up the issue of the modernization of our culture, declaring that it was necessary to be concerned with a comprehensive plan to eliminate illiteracy. He said that, if the regional legislative authorities were given the power of control over the regional government bodies, this would result in more decentralization. He said that it was necessary to look into the matter concerning the provinces in order to assure the success of local popular rule under the aegis of regional rule. When concluding his remarks, he praised the stable nature of our foreign policies and the fact that integration between Egypt and Sudan has entered the advanced phase which it is in right now.

Mrs Miri Basyuni had the following to say: "As our president and leader has said, the purpose in having decentralization is to have development reach all of our regions. In our discussion, we must concentrate on what is in the interest of Sudan and on the matters which concern Sudan as a whole. First of all, I would like to stress the fact that we support everything that was said in the president's speech, and what we should do is ask ourselves the following questions: How can we solve Sudan's problems? Are our policies being pursued the way we want them to be pursued? We must not get bogged down in petty matters. We should not say that we want the Southern Region to have this and that. Sudan also has other regions. Like everyone else, we should be talking about them too in order that we can succeed in solving Sudan's problems. I am sure that the tribal way of thinking is something which is not in conformity with the policies proposed. We, as Sudanese, must not say that we want something particular only for our own regions. We are all Sudanese citizens, and none of us are foreigners. We should also not forget that the Southern Region has a People's Assembly which plays a role in solving the problems of the people there."

Mrs Miri Basyuni went on to say: "The reason I want to talk about tribalism is that, if we continue to think in a tribal way, this will impede our progress. We must believe first and foremost in the nation of Sudan." Mrs Basyuni then pointed out the fact that the development program was not set up on a tribal basis, but rather on the basis of development of the nation of Sudan [as a whole]. She also said that we must solve the problem of corruption, and she stated that the next phase will be a difficult one and will require the expending of considerable efforts in order to have development in the various regions of the country succeed for the sake of the nation of Sudan as a whole.

Mr Ahmad 'Ali al-Malik had the following remarks: "This comprehensive political program, after being thoroughly studied and examined, will become a program of national action in the future. In order to have it successfully implemented, we must determine the areas of authority and competence which should be assigned to each of the political and executive government organizations. The reason for this is that inconsistency and unclearly delineated areas of authority will lead to mutual interference. Since our political organization is the body responsible for providing the leadership for this national action, then it must determine the relationships between the various government organizations and the authority which each one will have. This must be done in order that each organization, at each level, will be able to perform the duties entrusted to it. This will require training the leadership cadres at the various levels."

He went on to say: "What we must do is unify the political, popular, and executive leadership at the middle and rank-and-file levels. This must be done in order that the organizations be able to perform their duties with the necessary degree of coordination, integration, and sound direction." He also pointed out that this unity of leadership has been successful on the level of the regional governors and secretaries.

Mr Adam al-Samani said the following: "In general, we almost have total justice. However, some negative phenomena still exist. In the Region of Darfur there is still a big shortcoming in the realms of security and administration of justice." He then referred to the situation of this region along its western border and the fact that the region is adjacent to three remote foreign nations. He went on to say: "What the secretary of the region said to the conference concerning the security situation is a matter which is serious because security there has become a big problem. During a 3-day period there were seven incidents that took place between Nyala and Zalingei. They were incidents of armed robbery in which vehicles were stopped and people had their merchandise and money taken away from them. What this indicates is that the capabilities of the security forces are very insufficient."

He went on to say: "The same thing is true in the realm of administration of justice. There are cases which have been waiting for 10 years to be resolved. This is due to the fact that there is poor distribution [of the cases to the various courts] and due to the fact that the fundamental changes are not sufficient and they have not been implemented with the proper impetus."

He also said: "I am in favor of everything that was said in the president's speech, especially that which was said concerning decentralization. We must have as much decentralization as possible, and we should not restrict it merely to the regional seats of government."

Dr Bukhari 'Abdallah al-Ja'li then had the following comments: "According to the program, our institutions and establishments have been completed, including the well-known executive establishments and the press establishment. I hope to see these establishments reach an age of maturity, by which I primarily mean that they will have qualified and capable people and will have freedom of action as far as everything concerning every establishment is concerned. The program calls for the adoption of systems and approaches which will free our national leaders from having to delve into the administration of day-to-day affairs and into other such details and minor matters. In my estimation, this constitutes a new feature of the program. If my thinking is correct, this, among other things, means that the civil service in Sudan will regain its health and vigor—and a healthy and vigorous civil service was one thing which Sudan was noted for at the time it attained its independence."

He added: "I know—and there is no harm in saying so—that when the revolution occurred, this resulted in weakening the civil service organization. This had negative consequences. However, this is not something which is unique [to Sudan]. This has happened in the case of many revolutions. But it is wrong for us to continue, up to the present day, to view the civil service in the same light as we did during the first year of the revolution. We must restore the status of the civil service to what it should be, because the civil service is the institution which embraces all of the educated people of Sudan."

Mr 'Awad al-Sayyid had the following to say: "Our political organization, in the past, has suffered from a great deal of stagnation and lack of effectiveness. However, with the holding of this conference, I believe that new life has been put into it. But if the leadership positions are not duplicated on all levels—and our leaders are anxious to have this new degree of life—then the [local] control which we have been talking about so often will not come into existence. Our political organization must reach down to the masses in order to solve their problems, and it must stay in constant contact with the masses because this is what will give the organization the capacity to undertake effective action so that [local] control will be achieved."

"On all levels we should be interested in having the effective force be the authority of the masses. Regional rule constitutes a big step toward reinforcing the authority of the masses. Regional governments should be free to draw upon resources which would aid them to solve the problems of the masses and assume the burdens of development. And at this stage in particular we need to provide support to the security forces in all regions in order to solve the problems of those responsible for this security."

Mr Salah-al-Din Shubaykah had some comments concerning what Mr Adam al-Samani said about the administration of justice in Darfur. He said: "Decentralization of the administration of justice involves a structural arrangement which starts with the rank-and-file and goes up to the very top. I was very happy to hear what Mr al-Samani said because this showed how interested he is in his region. He stated that 4 months have gone by since President Numayri issued the temporary orders concerning decentralization of the administration of justice. We have been working on the distribution of our judges and establishing appellate courts. The implementation of personnel transfers has begun, and we have established the necessary guidelines. Yesterday a report came in from Zalingei which stated that all of those who have been in police custody have been tried in court, and this action constitutes a good sign for us."

He went on to say: "But there are still some negative phenomena and shortcomings. President Numayri has promised to resolve these problems so that we can achieve our highest aspirations, after we have been provided with a great degree of financial independence and provided with the necessary means of transportation and facilities."

He added: "All of the reassignments of judges within the framework of decentralization of the administration of justice will be completed by 12 March of this year. This means that there will be judges in all of our cities and areas."

Mr Muhammad Tahir Abu Kalabish praised the comprehensive political program and, when referring to what was mentioned in the report made by the chairman of the Organizations Committee concerning unity of political thought, he reaffirmed that this was something which was necessary. He also said: "We should not consider that carrying a [political organization membership] card constitutes a carte blanche on which everything hangs. What we must do is achieve total application of the basic system and of the principles of the organization."

He also talked about the lack of responsibility concerning security matters with regard to what recently happened in Bahr al-Ghazal. He said: "We on the regional level feel the gap between the regional people's assemblies and the National People's Assembly. The reason for this is that national law predominates over regional legislation. What we must do is take more of the authority held by the institutions on the national level and hand it over to the regions."

He then referred to what our president had said about the fact that administrative control should be at the regional level rather than at the national level. He referred to the fact that the Inspection Committee in the National Assembly had recently come to Kordofan in order to investigate the process of confiscating supply goods from an ordinary merchant. He said: "This should take place with the necessary coordination and cooperation, and the regional councils should be granted the authority to exercise administrative control on the regional level."

Mr Abu Kalabish went on to say: "The same voices which were warning about how very costly regional rule would be—until experience proved otherwise—are now talking about the regions without consulting the regions. In everything which concerns the regions, we must consult the rank-and-file people in the regions rather than people who live in Khartoum and do not know anything about the regions. In Kordofan we have nine local councils. Each of these councils has the authority to exercise the powers that used to be exercised by the two former executive councils. We reject the opinion of anyone who says that regional rule is something which has infringed upon local popular rule."

He then criticized the fact that the national authorities are sharing the responsibility for governing our nation's capital city. He said: "The central government bodies should feel the same degree of responsibility toward the regions as they do toward Khartoum. I recommend that the central government bodies allow the regions to participate in making decisions which affect their economies. Otherwise the regions will be surprised by decisions resulting in decreases in their budgets."

Mr 'Ali Muhammad al-Tayyib had some remarks concerning the necessity of conscious commitment to the political organization. He said: "We must hold extensive symposiums on all levels concerning integration in order to enhance the awareness of rank-and-file people concerning this matter and in order to enable them to participate in achieving the goals of integration."

Prof Hajjah Kashif said: "It is both important and necessary to pause and critically examine matters. Our president has often said that it is necessary for us to do this. To what degree have we proceeded in accordance with the basic principles of the May revolution? I believe that, when people are engaging in political action, they should be very sensitive to the opinions of others. They should walk the streets and hear what people are saying and see what they are doing. This is something which requires flexibility among the leaders of organizations engaging in political action. We always need to increase our degree of awareness."

She then demanded that the symposium held by the political organization be taken from the headquarters of the political organization and held in the streets. She said: "We want these to be symposiums for the people, and we need to have more democracy practiced. The reason for this is that people started avoiding our political organization after they had tried to do something and participate and they got nowhere with their participation. The press and informational media are always calling attention to the leaders and getting their information from one source or group of sources. We must provide the rank-and-file people the opportunity to participate because the democracy which was ushered in by the May revolution is something which should enhance the value of our work as a nation." She went on to say: "I am against the Law of Public Safety [qanun al-tuma'ninah al-'ammah] because real safety is not something which is provided by the law. It is something which one has when citizens' basic needs are provided for and services are available to them. A revolution protects itself by means of its deeds, and not by means of law. It protects itself by means of its economic, social, and political accomplishments."

APPOINTMENTS TO CENTRAL CONTROLLING BODY ANNOUNCED

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 3 Mar 83 pp 1, 12

[Article: "President of the SSU Issues Decree Appointing Members to the Central Controlling Body"]

[Text] Yesterday President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, head of the SSU [Sudanese Socialist Union], issued Decree Number 272, of the fourth session, appointing members to the SSU's Central Controlling Body. The following is the text of the decree:

"After examination of Decree Number 220, issued by the president of the SSU during its fourth session and dated 27 December 1982, and in accordance with the authority granted to him by Paragraph II-7,

Decree

The following persons shall be appointed to the Central Controlling Body of the SSU:

1. Dr Isma'il al-Hajj Musa
2. Al-Husayn al-Hasan
3. Al-Fatih al-Tijani
4. Maj Gen Ba Bakr 'Abd-al-Rahim
5. Dr Baha' al-Din Muhammad Idris
6. Hasan Sati
7. 'Abd-a'-Rahman 'Abbas
8. Dr 'Ali Muhammad Fadl
9. Dr 'Umar al-Amin
10. Dr 'Awn al-Sharif
11. Fatimah Khalil
12. Dr Fatimah 'Abd-al-Mahmud
13. Fadlallah Muhammad
14. Faysal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman
15. Kamil Mahjub
16. Dr Muhammad Hasan al-Jak
17. Mahjub 'Ali
18. Yasin 'Umar al-Imam
19. Rawdah Muhammad Bashir Bisharah

This decree is issued with my signature at the SSU headquarters on Wednesday, 17 Jumada I 1403 A.H./2 March 1983."

Yesterday the president of the SSU also issued Decree Number 273, of the fourth session, accrediting the representatives of the armed forces in the Central Controlling Body. The following is the text of the decree:

"After examination of Decree Number 220, issued by the president of the SSU during its fourth session and dated 27 December 1982, and in accordance with the authority granted to him by Paragraph II-5,

Decree

The following persons shall be accredited as representatives of the armed forces in the Central Controlling Body of the SSU:

1. Gen. 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Hasan Siwar al-Dahab
2. Lt Gen Yusuf Ahmad Yusuf
3. Lt Gen Tawfiq Salih Abu Kadok
4. Air Marshal Muhammad Mirghani Muhammad
5. Maj Gen (Staff) al-Sirr Muhammad Ahmad
6. Security Forces Maj Gen Kamal Hasan Ahmad
7. Security Forces Maj Gen 'Uthman al-Sayyid
8. Police Gen 'Ali Yasin Ibrahim
9. Police Gen Isma'il 'Atiyah Musa
10. Prison Police Gen Ahmad Wadi Hasan
11. Prison Police Maj Gen 'Awad Muhammad Yasin
12. Firefighters Maj Gen Muhammad Taha Isma'il.
13. Mr Mahmud 'Uthman Abu Sininah.

This decree is issued with my signature at the SSU headquarters on Wednesday, 17 Jumada I 1403 A.H./2 March 1983

Ja'far Muhammad Numayri
President of the Sudan Socialist Union"

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CSD: 4504/282

SUDANESE DEBT RESCHEDULED

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 15 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by Mahjub Khayri: "In a Report by the Minister of Finance to the People's Assembly Concerning the Results of the Third Paris Club's Meetings: Sudan's Debts Till the End of This Year Rescheduled for 1990"]

[Text] The people's Assembly--During its session yesterday, which was chaired by its president Mr 'Izz-al-Din al-Sayyid, the People's Assembly heard a report given by Mr Ibrahim Mun'im Mansur, the minister of finance and economic planning. In the report, Mr Mansur stated that, during the recent meeting held by the Paris Club, the matter of the Sudanese debts owed to the member nations of the Paris Club and to commercial banks was dealt with. He said that about 200 million had been included [in the rescheduled debt] which would not be included in the debt under normal circumstances, and that the rescheduled debt now totalled about \$600 million.

The minister also said: "In addition to this, an agreement was reached which stipulates the rescheduling of all outstanding debts for previous years and all debts which will be due during the remainder of 1983. Payment of these debts has been postponed for a period of 6 years. After that period of time, payment will be due during the next 10 years--beginning in January of 1990."

The minister went on to say: "In addition to this, the Paris Group agreed to grant these same conditions to Sudan in 1984 if it continues to adhere to its announced financial policy of austerity and its serious approach toward dealing with its economic problems."

The text of the report is as follows, as quoted by AL-AYYAM:

"Mr President of the honorable National Assembly and its esteemed members: Peace be upon you.

In my report of 19 January 1983 to the honorable People's Assembly, I explained the elements of the economic program which accompanied the recent change in the exchange rate and which include the following three main points:

1. Repayment of the deficit in the balance of payments.
2. Financing of the development plan for the next 3 years.

3. Rescheduling of out standing debts which will be due during the year.

At that time I informed the honorable People's Assembly that the advisory group of people from nations and organizations which are friendly to Sudan had taken upon itself the commitment to cover the deficit in the balance of payments and to finance the foreign currency requirements of the development plan. I said that this was to be achieved by setting aside the amount of \$740 million during 1983. I also said that we still had to negotiate with the Paris Club nations in order to reach agreement concerning the matter of dealing with the problem of the debts owed to the Paris Club nations, and that we had to contact the commercial banks in order to deal with the matter of the debts which Sudan owes to them.

I also mentioned to you that, this year, Sudan is supposed to pay the sum of \$390 million in order to liquidate these debts before 31 December 1983. I also said that Sudan will have to continue paying, next year and during subsequent years, sums of money exceeding \$400 million to this same group of Paris Club nations and to the commercial banks.

I am happy to report to you that we have finally managed to include [in the rescheduled debt] an additional sum of approximately \$200 million which would not be included in the rescheduling under normal circumstances, and the total rescheduled debt is now about \$600 million.

We have succeeded--praise be to God--in reaching an agreement to reschedule all of the debts outstanding during previous years and all the debts due to be paid by the end of 1983, and they are to be repaid within a period of 6 years. After that, repayment of [other debts] will take place within a period of 10 years--beginning in January of 1990. In other words, we will have 14 years to repay these debts, and certain arrangements will be made concerning interest payments and debts to commercial banks and other creditors so that Sudan's debt repayment burden will not exceed \$50 million per year. The Paris Club also agreed to grant the same conditions to Sudan during 1984 if it continues to adhere to the austere financial policies which it has announced and continues to seriously deal with its economic problems in order to be able, during the next few years, to restore equilibrium to the Sudanese economy.

Mr President, and members of the National Assembly: There are nations which are in the same state of indebtedness as Sudan and action to demand the payment of their debts has been postponed. There are other nations concerning which the demand that they pay their debts has been fundamentally dropped. And there are still other nations which have not received the same conditions and treatment that we have received. This is something which demonstrates a very positive appraisal of Sudan's attitude, the policies which our government has been following, and the fact that we have committed ourselves to continue following these policies. However, what we must do now is to have all of our [government] organizations and bodies translate these policies and this positive appraisal into tangible results which will serve the [development] plans that we have. During the next few years we must convince the world that we are people who deserve the trust and confidence which has been granted to us and that we deserve the treatment and conditions which we have received. What we have

received is aid in the form of a subsidy for our balance of payments, financing for our investment program, and rescheduling of our debts. This aid, altogether, totals about \$1.35 billion per year.

In conclusion, Mr President, I would like to take this opportunity to express our nation's gratitude to these nations which have helped Sudan in the past by extending loans to it and which are helping Sudan today by showing their appreciation for Sudan's attitude by doing more for Sudan than their commitments to Sudan require of them. Perhaps it would be proper to mention the names of these countries. They are the following: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Finland, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Holland, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the U.S. We express our gratitude to them for the position that they have taken, and I wish to thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak here today. Peace be upon you, and may you have God's mercy and His blessings."

The president of the National Assembly then, on behalf of the National Assembly, expressed his thanks to the minister of finance and economic planning for the extensive report which he had just given.

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CSO: 4504/284

MINERAL RESOURCES IN SUDAN DESCRIBED

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 15 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by 'Uthman 'Awad Sabil: "The future of Sudan's Mineral Resources"]

[Text] Mineral resources occupy an important place in the economy of numerous countries in the world. This is due to the important role which various mineral resources play in the realms of economic and social development.

In recognition of the importance of the mining sector and the expectation that it would contribute toward the development of the Sudanese nation, the Sudanese Mining Corporation, an organization which is in the Ministry of Energy and Mining, was established in 1975 for the purpose of achieving optimum utilization of this country's mineral wealth and having the mining sector play the role expected of it in contributing to the nation's development. The third conference of the SSU [Sudanese Socialist Union] recommended that the government make efforts to be more active in exploiting our mineral resources in order to bolster the national economy. This policy was affirmed as one which requires that everyone be active in implementing it and working in accordance with it.

In accordance with this policy, agreement was reached to begin operations in the mines. It was agreed that, first of all, small mines should be opened, work should be done to develop and expand them, and incentives and encouragement should be given to the private sector to participate in developing this industry. Then the industry should be opened up to regional and international organizations and firms, and incentives should be provided to them in order to get them to participate in the prospecting and exploration work. And finally, optimum utilization of Sudan's mineral resources should be achieved.

The following are examples of such efforts:

Mining Chromium

The Ingessana Hills mines are considered to be the basic source for the production of chromium. During 1982/83 they produced about 14,500 tons of chromium. Even more could have been produced there, but instead the emphasis was placed on devoting a great deal of care to processing the chromium ore and removing the non-metal content so that Sudanese chromium ore would be able to maintain its high international reputation.

The Sudanese-German Enterprise

I should be pointed out that great quantities of minerals have been discovered in Sudan. This discovery became known when Mr Yusuf Sulayman [minister of state in the Ministry of Energy and Mining], on 9 August 1982, was visited at his office by a team of German geologists and received from them a detailed report concerning the results of geological surveys and initial mineral exploration work which had been done in the southeastern part of the Bayyudah Desert to the northwest of 'Atbarah.

One of the most important results of the prospecting work was the discovery of kyanite. Also, there are some German firms doing mineral exploration work in the Nuba Mountains in the southern part of the Region of Kordofan, and they have in mind to commence actual mining of these minerals.

Iron Ore

Sudan has a great deal of iron ore, and it varies as to quality. The most important iron ore deposits in Sudan are those which are found in the Red Sea Hills. This was one of the conclusions of the report made by a Chinese team which undertook the task of making a general survey in order to determine the locations of the iron ore which exists there. The survey was done for the purpose of studying these iron ore deposits in order to determine the quantity and quality of the iron ore, as well as the thickness of the stratum of iron ore, so that this information could be utilized within the framework of a comprehensive plan to engage in the local mining of this mineral resource. It should be mentioned that this Chinese team was invited by the Ministry of Energy and Mining to engage in this task.

Mining Gold Ore

The Jubayt mining area is considered to be one of the most important areas where gold has been discovered. Some time ago an agreement was signed with a British firm to mine this gold in 1982. The quantity of gold estimated to have been discovered is about 1,500 kilograms or more.

Radioactive Minerals: Uranium

In view of the strategic importance of uranium as the most important mineral which serves as an alternative to energy-producing hydrocarbon substances, the Ministry of Energy has started the process of having it mined. An agreement has been signed with Manex, a British firm, to mine uranium in the central part of the Region of Kordofan. The person signing the agreement on behalf of the Ministry of Energy and Mining was Mr Yusuf Sulayman, minister of state in the Ministry of Energy and Mining, and the person signing on behalf of the British firm was Dr Brown. This company is also mining tin and tungsten ore which is found in the igneous rock formations located in the al-Sabluqah area.

Other Fields of Mining

Some time ago a joint Saudi-Sudanese enterprise was set up for the purpose of engage in mining at the bottom of the Red Sea. The enterprise will be engaging

in experimental mining of the concentrations of minerals found at the bottom of the sea. The most important minerals to be found there are copper, silver, and zinc. The Saudi-Sudanese Commission for Mining the Bottom of the Red Sea has approved construction of a plant, at the city of Yanbu' in Saudi Arabia, for the extraction of these mineral concentrates. The Sudanese members in this commission are Dr Sharif al-Tuhami, minister of energy and mining, and Mr 'Abdallah Hasan Ishaq. The amount of capital set aside for the commission is an estimated 120 million Saudi riyals. The commission's next meeting will be in Sudan.

Although great quantities and varieties of minerals have been discovered in Sudan, the mining industry is still a new activity for this country. The Ministry of Energy and Mining aspires to establish a vigorous mining industry so that Sudan's mineral ores can be exploited.

The ministry is working together individually with various organizations, firms, and governments in the field of prospecting and exploratory work and is coordinating efforts and making use of the experience which others have had in this field. Furthermore, it is encouraging both Arab and foreign investment in order to achieve greater exploitation of these mineral resources. The hope is that this will serve to give a strong impetus to the process of development which will achieve prosperity and progress for Sudan.

9468

CSO: 4504/284

REPORT ON PROGRESS OF AL-RAHAD AGRICULTURAL PROJECT

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 21 Feb 83 p 5

[Article by Karamallah al-Siddiq: "The al-Rahad Project Sets New Production Records"]

[Text] Proposal for a nationwide discussion concerning making sorghum seed available in order to achieve abundant sorghum production.

The al-Rahad agricultural project, during the last agricultural season, achieved a very high agricultural output in an area of 280,000 feddans planted with peanuts, cotton, sorghum, orchard and garden crops, and forest trees. During the festivities held by the project's administration to celebrate the production achievements, the administration promised to set production records during this season

The question now is: How closely do the facts correspond to the promise which was made, and has the administration been successful in coordinating its factors of production such as fertilizers, pesticides, and irrigation?

Has [the administration] managed to overcome the obstacles which limit production such as animals which wander onto the agricultural lands and the whitefly? Has it provided a sufficient work force for the agricultural season? Has it made sufficient provisions for transporting the cotton from the fields to the cotton gins? Has it made it possible to do sufficient cotton-ginning?

Reasons for the Increase in Production

AL-AYYAM talked to Mr Salah al-Shaykh Bashir, deputy agricultural director of al-Rahad Agricultural Corporation. He told us that agricultural work is the type of work which is very hard and exhausting, and requires that one put out continual effort throughout the year.

He said: "The al-Rahad project follows the two-part crop rotation system, with the following crops being planted: 140,000 feddans of cotton, 65,000 feddans of sorghum, 65,000 feddans of peanuts, 6,000 feddans of orchard and garden crops, and 6,000 feddans of forest trees."

He went on to say: "Cotton is [normally] planted on 135,000 feddans. But as a result of the heavy rains last August, the area of land planted with cotton now is only 116,000 feddans. We expect the average total production per feddan to be 6.5 kantars [1 kantar = 44.93 kg], as compared with 6.1 kantars during the last season. The reason for this is that the average cotton harvest by last January totalled 3.5 kantars per feddan, as compared with 2 kantars per feddan last year."

He said that he expected the northern area to be the area which would be the most productive one. He also mentioned the factors responsible for the high production of cotton: "Our administration has pursued a new policy, which is that of having the farmers hire their own cotton-pickers after the financial resources to do this have been provided to them. A total of 14 Sudanese pounds per farmer was spent for every feddan planted with cotton. Of this amount, 10 Sudanese pounds were spent before the beginning of the crop season, and the remaining 4 Sudanese pounds were spent after the cotton workers had been brought to the fields."

"In addition to this, the work of preparing the fields--both the tilling of the ground and the irrigation--was accomplished very efficiently."

"In addition to this, the rains were not heavy during July. This is something which helped the crop to grow. Also, herbicides were effectively used over large areas."

"The human element was a factor in contributing toward the success of this crop season because the cotton-pickers pooled their efforts and worked well together, the farmers' efficiency is on a higher level, and the farmers are more interested in their fields and their crops. Perhaps the reason for this is that the crops have started providing a higher income for them. Last season the farmers received a combined total income of 13 million Sudanese pounds, and this meant a minimum profit of 1,000 Sudanese pounds even for each of the farmers who produced the least."

"Even before all of this, we succeeded in containing and exterminating the crop pests, especially the whitefly."

"Furthermore, the corporation has drawn up a complete plan for protecting the crops from animals which wander onto the agricultural lands and from unfair grazing practices with these animals. In addition to this, great efforts were undertaken in which the members of the armed forces participated and were stationed at both stationary and mobile observation points."

Concerning the cotton-ginning situation, Mr al-Fatih Sulayman, the man in charge of the cotton gins, said the following:

"The Maintenance and Operations Department, last January, finished getting our four cotton gins in shape. They have already started to work at full capacity, and by the end of January they had processed 32,176 bales of cotton and 191,351 bushels of cottonseed. We expect to have the cotton gins process the entire crop by the middle of next June.

"The cotton-ginning area has so far received 180,427 sacks of cotton, and the gins have processed 121,984 sacks of this total. The administration realized that it was necessary to quickly transport the picked cotton from the fields to the cotton gins. This task was entrusted to a number of contractors rather than to a single contractor, as has been the practice previously."

Mr Bashir then commented: "The project administration right now is concentrating on tilling the ground which was planted with sorghum and peanuts. We expect the tilling operations to be finished by next July. The reason for this delay is that the plows are not working with high efficiency because their useful life is over.

"The administration is engaged in the process of putting up the crop preparation operations for the 1983 and 1984 seasons for public bidding to the private sector."

More Peanuts Grown

Mr Bashir went on to say: "The farmers stopped growing peanuts because of the fluctuation in the prices of peanuts. In fact, the price of peanuts went down to 6 Sudanese pounds per kantar. But in spite of this, we prepared 65,000 feddans for the growing of peanuts between 20 May and the end of June. But unfortunately, due to irrigation problems which were connected with having our electric power cut off, the total area utilized for producing peanuts decreased to 50,000 feddans. But in spite of this, production per feddan was 8 tons, as compared with 6 tons during the last season. The reason for this is that 50 percent of the crop was harvested by means of mechanized harvesting, and both stationary and mobile harvesting methods were used. Stationary harvesting cost 20 Sudanese pounds and mobile harvesting cost 14 Sudanese pounds [per feddan].

"I hope that during the next season the farmers will devote themselves to planting peanuts since the price per bushel of peanuts has risen to 12 Sudanese pounds. Also, we have contacted the Oil-Bearing Seeds Company to ask it to provide credit to the farmers. But it appeared to the company that this would cause the raising of the labor costs, whereas it could not guarantee that the farmers would deliver all of the crops they produce or that they would be concerned about sorting out the bad peanuts from their crops. This is something which increased the indebtedness of the corporation to millions of Sudanese pounds because the farmers were not repaying the debts on time.

"Talking about peanuts always involves talking about sorghum, for which 65,000 feddans have been set aside and of which 50,000 feddans are actually

being used to produce sorghum. Total production was 500,000 bushels, with the average production per feddan being from 1 to 1.2 kantars. This production figure was the result of all the efforts made by the farmers since they feel that their standard of living is connected with this vital crop. Also, this crop does not require much crop preparation other than tilling the ground at certain times.

"Since we believe in the importance of sorghum and in increasing our planting and production of it, we propose that this question be discussed on a nationwide level and that better sorghum seed be provided to the farmers and that this be guaranteed by means of financing by the Bank of Sudan, which demands that it be repaid the loans plus the interest payments on the loans owed to it.

"This proposal stems from a basic and clear position adopted by the corporation which is fully on the side of the farmers so that they will come up with abundant production. The corporation utilizes all of the loans provided to it in order to achieve its goals. Such loans are, for example, loans from the Kuwaiti, Saudi, and Arab development banks which were used to purchase agricultural machinery and equipment as well as a number of cars and trucks.

"To complete the picture concerning the project, one must mention the fact that 6,000 feddans have been set aside for orchard and garden crops. The reason for this is that the al-Rahad area is one of the most important agricultural areas which supply Wad Madani and al-Qadarif with garden and orchard crops such as onions, tomatoes, and fruit.

"Another 6,000 feddans have been set aside for growing forest trees. A total of 400 feddans have been planted with camphor trees. We are getting help from the Finns, and the results of this aid will soon be seen. Our project is going to bring in these [Finnish] experts for a period of 2 years and utilize their expertise in the field of forestry. We are planning to plant extensive areas of land with camphor trees."

Obstacles to Production

Mr Bashir concluded his remarks by referring to the obstacles which limit productivity by the project. He said: "The first obstacle is the fact that we lack tractors. Furthermore, we do not have spare parts for those that we have. In addition to this, their useful life is over, and as we utilize these tractors we are afraid that they are going to break down.

"Also, we are always having electric power problems, especially during the times when we require electricity in order to pump the water out onto the fields. This is something which forces us to decrease the area of land set aside for planting our crops.

"But our basic problem is the fact that so many of our trained employees and skilled workers such as our mechanics and technicians are constantly leaving their jobs because they are being attracted by employment

opportunities which provide more income or quicker profits. This is something which results in lower production.

"What we must do is to think together how to overcome these obstacles in order to have al-Rahad achieve record production which will both satisfy our ambitions and be in conformity with our aspirations."

9468

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NA'IM HADDAD COMMENTS ON PROGRESSIVE PAN-ARAB NATIONAL FRONT

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 27 Mar 83 p 6

[Article: "During His Announcement of Progressive National and Patriotic Front Conference's Convention, Comrade Na'im Haddad Comments: Establishment of Front an Important National Undertaking, Distinct Step Toward Unification of People"]

[Text] The Progressive Pan-Arab National Front holds its general national conference next month to discuss the front's plan of action for the current and upcoming stages, in light of the central resolution of the country's Arab Socialist Ba'th Party's ninth conference.

Comrade Na'im Haddad, member of the National Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and the front's secretary general, said that the conference will discuss three basic and important topics, the most prominent being a study of what was stated in the central resolution of the party's ninth regional conference concerning national and pan-Arab duties, and consideration of the front's conference resolutions as guidelines upon which the front can rely to stimulate action to implement its programs and missions, particularly during the current period our struggling country is passing through.

He added that the conference will be attended by representatives of federations and organizations of parties, people and trades, in addition to various parties in the cadre of the Progressive Pan-Arab National Front, the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, the Kurdish Democratic Party, the Kurdish Revolutionary Party, and national, pan-Arab, progressive and democratic personalities.

The conference will also discuss the front's plan of action for the current and upcoming stages, which includes 14 topics. They emphasize that the absolute priority should be to continue Saddam's glorious Qadisiyah, to provide all prerequisites for steadfastness, to reinforce victory and perpetuate its spirit, to maintain the noble Iraqi fighter at the highest levels of preparedness, to deter the racist Iranian regime and thwart its expansionist, tyrannical conspiracy.

Comrade Na'im Haddad, the front's secretary general, asserted that the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party considers the Progressive Pan-Arab National Front a fighting people's force, an effective instrument of the revolution for accomplishing national and pan-Arab tasks, an open arena for all nationalists and

progressives, and a field for the interaction of views within the framework of firm commitment and aspiration for the party's leading role in accordance with the guidelines drawn by the country's ninth regional conference.

He said that the just battle being fought by the Iraqi people and Arab masses, under the leadership of President Saddam Hysayn, the fighter against the spiteful Iranian regime, has created a new life for the Iraqi people and has produced an exceptional national and pan-Arab birth for Iraqis, making Iraq equivalent to an invincible power and a vibrant land of innovation and radiance.

He explained that the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party considered the establishment of the Progressive Pan-Arab National Front a nationalistic achievement and a distinct step toward unifying the forces of the people in order to accomplish national, pan-Arab and social duties. It also considered it a bright example having positive effects on the forces of the Arab revolutionary movement. He further said that the front's general conference will embody the revolution's program and the masses' aspirations during the next stage, a program which was clarified by the central resolution of the party's ninth regional conference and which stresses adapting to recent circumstances and current and future dangers facing the nation, the people, and the revolution, and truths learned from life's continuous movement forward.

Comrade Na'im Haddad pointed out that the ninth regional conference's primary mission was to specify the major characteristics of the previous stage, analyze them in a comprehensive, exact and equitable fashion, and establish a revolutionary, realistic and comprehensive program which encompasses current circumstances with all their perils and complications. The program also takes into account the future stage to which it is a witness and the need to cling strongly and unequivocally to principles, so that any campaign we undertake will be guided by principles and fundamental national, pan-Arab and humanitarian goals.

He said that the front's plan has ensured progress toward the accomplishment of national, pan-Arab and humanitarian duties as defined by the front's charter, the charter of national action and reinforcement of the socialist and democratic renaissance in our country. It is a charter which strengthens and develops the democratic experience in Iraq, represented by the National Assembly and the Legislative Council of the Autonomous Region. It upholds them with intellectual and pragmatic applications, which will firmly instill the values of this experience and move it toward wider, more comprehensive and clearer horizons.

The front's role during this stage centers on mobilizing our people's capabilities, calling on them, arousing their determination and concentrating their efforts on developing and protecting the socialist democratic gains and accomplishments of the revolution so our great people can build a prosperous and democratic Iraq.

The front's secretary general emphasized the need for our struggling people's and the national front's forces' sharpened alertness and mobilized strength in order to defend the revolution and protect its gains, and be completely ready

to face hostile conspiracies aimed at harming this great revolution, which solidly faces up to expansionist and conspiratorial ambitions, the forces of evil from imperialist Zionists, to the ignorant rulers of Tehran, and the Arab nation's lying traitors, such as Hafiz al-Asad and al-Qadhadhafi, who attempt to harm the nation's sovereignty, honor, glory and civilization.

12325

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LOANS TO BEREAVED FAMILIES

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 21 Mar 83 p 7

[Article: "Implementation of Measures for Handing Over Remainder of Housing Loan to Families of POW's, MIA's; Distribution of 330 Residential Apartments During Holy Saddam Battle Week"]

[Text] Minister of Housing and Reconstruction, Muhammad Fadil Husayn said celebrations in our struggling country, commemorating Holy Saddam Battle Week, embody profound evidence witnessed by our country in development, progress, construction, and victories.

He added, in a statement to AL-THAWRAH, that this week, which coincides with the Holy Saddam Battle Week, is considered one of the basic characteristics that contributes to the actual increased implementation of functions required by the developmental course at an advanced level to achieve outstanding and wonderful contributions and accomplishments such as those resulting from the glorious Holy Battle of Saddam, and in a direction of support for, and securing of, victory.

He pointed out that the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction had prepared a program for this venerable occasion, in which its terms stated the initiation of procedures to provide the remaining housing loans allocated for construction, for families of POW's and MIA's of the armed forces, for volunteers attached to the battle fronts, for members of the internal security forces, for popular army fighters and for special assignment brigades' personnel, in accordance with the Revolutionary Command Council's proclamation.

The celebrations will further include a ceremony for handing over apartment keys within the residential complex in Zayyanah to 330 families and the inauguration of the "Growth Under the Shadow of Victories" exhibition held at the ministry's administrative offices.

Moreover, diligent female members whose competence and capabilities in their respective work has been proven will also be honored. In addition, a series of meetings and panels will be held aimed at attaining the best means to seriously handle modernization of administrative work while the housing loan bank will issue a new series of home loan bonds.

In conclusion, the minister indicated that our country's celebrations are further proof of the dynamic ties between all those working in the country in the spirit of battle and in concentrating efforts, in support of victories accomplished by the soldiers of truth, in all steadfastness and strength, against the Iranian regime's spiteful forces in the holy and glorious Battle of Saddam.

12325

CSO: 4404/300

ROADS IN SADDAM CITY TO BE PAVED THIS YEAR

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 22 Mar 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] Based on President Saddam Husayn's directives, all streets in Saddam City will be paved this year.

This was announced by the capital's assistant secretary for technical affairs. He said that the Baghdad municipality has undertaken direct, daily and detailed supervision by Comrade Samir Abdul-Wahhab, member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party to lay plans and intensify work in the city to complete the paving operation within the allotted time.

In a press interview, he indicated the magnitude of the work entailed in paving the city, which includes more than 80 sectors divided by wide main streets ranging in width from 40 to 60 meters and extending 6 kilometers from east to west. They fall between the army channel and Al-Saddah. There are 7 streets with similar lengths and 12 other streets extending from north to south which are located between Kasrah, 'Atash and the Urfaliyah region, with lengths of 3.5 kilometers. He stressed the need, in light of the job's size, for increasing the equipment and resources in the city, and for an expanded effort to utilize the machinery in an optimum way and take full advantage of the official working hours and overtime. The Baghdad municipality has, therefore, proceeded to pull machinery and equipment from other areas in Baghdad to be used in Saddam City.

He added that there were 400 pieces of machinery operating in the city, excavating and paving streets, prior to proceeding with the new plan at the beginning of last month. Another 150 machines have been added from other areas, bringing the total to 500, in addition to four spreaders with five ground crews that spread the equivalent of 6,000 tons of asphalt daily, or 24,000 square meters with a thickness of 10 centimeters. He indicated that the size of the job remained larger than the available equipment, which necessitated the request for assistance from other ministries, such as the Ministry of Housing and Construction and the Ministry of Irrigation, which have already offered 200 machines. These have been added to the operating machines bringing the total to more than 1,000. Work begins at 0600 and continues until 1600, at which time maintenance work on the machine begins. In the evening hours, daily meetings are held with machine foremen, technical supervisors and engineers in order to establish the following day's plan of action.

He said the large quantities of dirt extracted during the work will be made use of in filling and leveling swamps created by the former Tabouq works and preparing them for agriculture or for use as public parks.

BRIEFS

RAMADAN ADDRESSES EGYPTIAN VOLUNTEERS—Baghdad, 22 Apr (INA)—Taha Yasin Ramadan, Revolution Command Council member and commander in chief of the Iraqi Popular Army, has said that the Arab volunteers' participation in Iraq's just battle was a decisive reply to the agent advocates of defeatism and division who claim to be Arabs, like Al-Asad and Al-Qadhdhafi. He particularly praised the Egyptian volunteers' brave stand on this battle—a stand which embodies the pan-Arab originality of the Arab nation. Addressing Egyptian volunteers from the Al-Qahirah [Cairo] Sector before their departure for the frontlines today, Ramadan indicated that some hireling papers began publishing falsehoods about the Arab volunteers' participation in the battle. He said that the fighters who are today leaving for the battlefield are an extension of the brother Egyptian volunteers who have taken part in the battle since its early days. He added that the departure of those volunteers is the ideal reply to the falsehoods which the defeatists believed would hamper the experiment of Arab volunteers or cut down the size of their participation in Iraq's pan-Arab battle. [Text] [JN220900 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0800 GMT 22 Apr 83]

CSO: 4400/314

ISRAEL

MOSSAD, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DISAGREE ON LEBANON, FALANGISTS

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 25 Mar 83 pp 3,10

[Article by Yehuda Tzur: "Between the Mossad and the Military Intelligence"]

[Text] During the years of the existence of the State of Israel, there have been differences of opinion among the heads of the intelligence community on the courses of action to be taken to serve its purposes. An extensive literature has been written on the events of the "shameful action" and the factors which induced circles in the General Staff and the Israeli government to decide on violent acts in Egypt in order to change the policy of the western nations toward the Nasir regime in the early fifties. It leaves no doubt that already then the heads of the Mossad believed that the decisions of the Chief of the Military Intelligence Branch of the IDF, Binyamin Jibli, and his use of a group of Zionist youths to place bombs in public institutions were not serving the objectives of the State of Israel. Isser Harel, who was then chief of the Mossad, does not conceal the fact that this was his opinion and that of the Israeli Security Service.

In later periods, when the Israeli intelligence service had already earned the encomium of "the best", the Israeli public made no distinction between the various intelligence arms. In the early sixties the incident of the sending of threatening letters to the German scientists in Egypt erupted, and there were differences of opinion between Chief of Mossad Isser Harel and Chief of the Military Intelligence Branch Meir 'Amit on the way to deal with the danger of the scientists. However, the dispute did not elicit a public reaction, and it was again Isser Harel who revealed a little of the disagreement which had split the government in his book on the incident of the German scientists which was published a few years ago.

The Yom Kippur War and the strong impression which "the deficiency" created among the Israeli public strengthened the public's awareness of the disagreements that divide the intelligence community. In the deliberations of the Agranat Commission it became evident that the Mossad had given ample early warning of the possibility of an outbreak of war. From it came the latest information that confirmed that indeed war was imminent and that the Egyptians were about to cross the Canal. At those very same moments, the military intelligence people were struggling to strengthen the assumption that was accepted by some of the cabinet ministers that the prospect of war was "low".

Military Intelligence Feels Discrimination

After the publication of the Agranat Commission's conclusions, blame for the deficiencies of the intelligence was placed on Major General Ze'ira whereas Tzvi Zamir remained in his position. It became clear to all that the Mossad people were correct in their early warnings. Despite the bitterness, many in Military Intelligence maintained that it was necessary to learn the lessons, to stick to the dry facts, and to abandon rigid conceptions that divert the Military Intelligence Branch from its primary function -- the provision of objective factual data to the security arms and the operational authority.

Despite the lessons learned, the Kahan Commission, which investigated the events at Sabra and Shatila, placed all the possible blame on the personnel of the Military Intelligence Branch while almost completely ignoring the Mossad's role in the Israeli intervention in Lebanon.

The personnel of the Military Intelligence Branch, who by their own account learned the Yom Kippur lesson well, feel that this time they have been discriminated against because the entire weight of guilt was placed on Major General Yehoshua Sagi while the Mossad and its heads were completely cleared. An Israeli personality told me that "the Military Intelligence Branch was much less involved in the Lebanon war than the Mossad, and its involvement in the activities of the Falangists in recent years has been minimal in comparison with that of the Mossad people. I do not want to take a position on the blame placed on the Military Intelligence Branch, however it is precisely in light of the publication of the report that the excessive influence of the Mossad on the actions of the Falangists and the Jumayyil people has become evident. It is possible that the Military Intelligence is guilty of not providing a warning, but what is surprising is the fact that the Mossad people, who it is reasonable to assume knew much of what was happening among the Falangists, were not censured even for not having given the political echelon any early warning of what was about to happen."

A Modest Beginning

Israel's intervention in Lebanon actually began with the outbreak of the civil war in that country. It took on more significant dimensions after Syrian intervention in the fighting between the Christians and the Muslims when the Falangists were aided by Syrian soldiers in destroying their Muslim adversaries who were being assisted by the PLO and the Druse of Walid Jumblatt.

The Israeli intervention in Lebanon was limited at the beginning in accordance with the directives of the former prime minister and former minister of defense, Yitzhaq Rabin and Shimon Peres. They felt that the Christians should be aided to help themselves while avoiding intervention which would entangle Israel in the inter-factional whirlpool in Lebanon. Because of the covert nature of the contacts, the role of the Mossad in the conduct of this relationship increasingly expanded.

The Mossad people began to foster the contacts with the Christians, and they very quickly reached the conclusion that the Jumayyil family had the best chance of assuming leadership among the Christians, the natural allies of Israel in Lebanon.

The Jumayyil people had enormous resources at their disposal in comparison with their numerical strength. During the past two or three decades the Jumayyil family built its economic strength steadily by penetrating areas considered in western countries to be part of organized crime. Prostitution, drugs, protection money, and smuggling contributed substantially to the rise of the family on the social ladder in Lebanon.

Despite the fact that their path to the top was paved with gold, it did not moderate their aspiration to head the Christian community in Lebanon and to lead it. To realize this goal, thousands of Christian youths were mobilized into the ranks of the Falangists. They were heavily armed with weapons smuggled in in the fifties via the same routes that the Jumayyils used to flood their country with goods smuggled in from abroad.

According to modest estimates, the Falangists have about 8,000 regular conscripts who are paid and equipped from the organization's fund. Their annual budget is estimated by knowledgeable persons at \$50 million that does not come from the national treasury but from the organization's fund and from funds replenished by the protection money collected from all the Christian merchants living in areas under the influence of the Jumayyil family. The port of Juniyah has the dubious distinction of being the leading contributor to the coffers of the Jumayyil family which are managed in accordance with the best tradition of the Italian families which gave birth to the concept of the "godfather."

The strengthening of relations with the Falangists was given concrete expression when the heads of the Jumayyil family decided that the time had come to remove a stumbling block from their path in the form of the Chamoun family and the military force under its command in one faction of the Maronite Christians, who constitute less than 20 percent of the population, against other Christian groups; when the reason for destroying the Chamoun strength was nothing more than its being a competitor and virtually the only barrier to the will of Pierre Jumayyil; when they attacked an old friend of Israel like Chamoun.

In 1980 a Falangist force under the command of the same men whose names were cited in connection with the massacre at Sabra and Shatila, was dispatched to the country club in Beirut, considered a meeting place for the Chamoun family. The Falangists slaughtered hundreds there in cold blood. Most of those killed were women, children, and employees. Chamoun's armed men managed to flee over the walls and save their lives. Those who remained were dragged to a wall and shot. Tony Chamoun was broken by the incident and emigrated to Paris and London where he met his wife and family whom the murderers had spared in the belief that there was no need to kill them in order to break the strength of their adversaries.

Two years before, the son of Suleiman Franjieh and his family were murdered in a similar manner. In the Chamoun case, the Falangists did not spare women and children, and they left behind a bloody reminder to their old adversary. The methods of the Jumayyil family in those days should have served as a warning to the Mossad. Those actions should have alerted the warning mechanisms of the Mossad to what awaited the Palestinian population in the camps if they permitted the Falangists to enter them.

Military Intelligence Branch Prefers Haddad

Along with the deepening of the ties of the Mossad with the Falangists, an unwritten pact, modest in its dimensions, was developing between Major Haddad and the State of Israel. The stability of the Orthodox Christian major in the face of PLO attempts to seize control of southern Lebanon, and primarily the border area near Israel, made him an ally who had to be helped. Chief of the General Staff Rafael Eitan, who was then the commanding general of the Northern Command, Maj Gen Avigdor Ben-Gal, his successor, and Maj Gen Amir Drori cultivated Haddad with the investment of small resources relative to his contribution in the area.

The Haddad liaison people were satisfied with the provision of security to the northern settlements on the assumption that the Land of the Cedars is an impossible mission and its problems cannot be solved by depending on a family that is "a mixture of rightist elements with fascist characteristics, living from the provision of protection to the members of their community and from drug trafficking. Such a family does not constitute an element that can unify the fragmented Lebanon."

In the deliberations which took place in the Knesset after the massacre in the Sabra and Shatila camps, at the request of the Alignment, Ariel Sharon dropped dark hints about the involvement of IDF officers in the Christian attack on Tall Al-Za'tar which was populated by Palestinians. However, he forgot, as is his custom, to tell the whole truth. "Those officers were there as observers and did not get involved in the Falangists' fighting," claims a knowledgeable source.

The personnel of the IDF Military Intelligence Branch are discovering in their reports the doubts which they harbored regarding the role of the Falangists of the Jumayyil family in Lebanon. Tens of researchers and Orientalists, who worked in military intelligence and who are known as outstanding professionals, warned during the months preceding the war and the long months afterward about the deepening of the connection with the Jumayyil people and blindly following the Mossad's "conception" which advocated installing the Maronite sword as the ruler of Lebanon.

For many months the Haddad people and the Military Intelligence people did not conceal their view that there should be no dependence on Jumayyil who at the proper time would betray Israel just as he betrayed his allies. Before the war, there were those in the army who believed that we should be satisfied with a security belt in southern Lebanon and put in the freezer Sharon's idea to break the PLO's strength with military action in order to influence his plans for the West Bank.

Despite the limited role of the Military Intelligence Branch in the Israeli intervention in Lebanon and its warnings against deepening ties with the Falangists, Sharon and Begin supported the Mossad's position which was more in accord with their view of a "new order" in the Middle East. This certainly does not justify the exoneration of the Mossad in everything related to the massacre in Sabra and Shatila and certainly casts a heavy shadow over understanding the Mossad's policy regarding the resolution of the acute problems of Lebanon.

ISRAEL

BURG INTERVIEWED ON SETTLEMENT ISSUE

Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 28 Mar 83 pp 3, 10

[Interview with Dr Yosef Burg, minister of interior and minister of religious affairs, by Yona Cohen; date and place not specified]

[Question] With your permission, Mr Minister, I will begin with an extremely "fresh" subject, that which several newspapers, the radio, and television are saying to the effect that "the government has imposed a travel tax in order to compensate the religious." Is this indeed the case?

[Answer] It is not. At a cabinet meeting last week I vigorously protested presenting the matter in such a way. I said openly that I have been a member of the cabinet for about 32 years, and now I must use strong language. With all my being I rise in protest against the atmosphere which has been created against the religious community. I am particularly aggrieved about the government communications media who added to this atmosphere beyond their normal extent.

We Demand Satisfaction

On the actual issue, I stated that we, the NRP, demand satisfaction. It is unreasonable that an annual budget is being prepared in excess of IS1,000 billion, what is called a trillion. Perhaps the Treasury intentionally did not include in the budget the existing commitments in the coalition agreement. When they come to conclude the discussions of the budget, they describe the religious as "extortionists" because they seek the fulfillment of what was agreed upon. Presenting the matter in such a way has given impetus to the haters of religious Jewry, has caused agitation, has distorted our image, and I place the blame on the tactics of the Treasury. I said this in the cabinet.

[Question] What was the proposal to award the Peace for Galilee Campaign Medal to ministers which you opposed?

[Answer] A cabinet committee submitted for cabinet approval a proposal to award the Peace for Galilee Campaign Medal and to include the ministers. I objected to the proposal, primarily because the operation has not yet been concluded. In the main, I maintained that it was improper for ministers to decide on the awarding of the medal to themselves. When it was found that never before in the wars of Israel was such a medal given to ministers, my objection was accepted.

The Coalition Will Continue

[Question] May I ask, how is the cabinet fulfilling its function as a cabinet? Is there coalition unity, agreement, discipline, and so forth?

[Answer] As at every conclusion of a Knesset session, fatigue and a weakening of coalition discipline prevail. This has been evident especially in the present Knesset. There are two reasons for this: first, this coalition is dependent upon an extremely small majority, and even this majority consists of more than a few factions. Every member of Knesset feels and acts like a prima donna who has the power to shorten or lengthen the existence of the coalition. The second reason is that the constituents of the coalition are pulling in different directions such as the Agudah in the matter of the Chief Rabbinate and the Liberals on issues which have a direct relationship, or in their humble opinion, a connection with a religious subject or institution. Nonetheless, one can assume that the coalition will continue to exist because the challenges and the tests will be difficult.

[Question] Mr Minister, where do we stand on the autonomy issue on which you worked hard?

[Answer] Some say that the Egyptians today are in the category of "Who is rich? He who is happy in his lot." After they received the Sinai from us, they lost the desire to negotiate on autonomy matters. In this regard, it must be noted that the Egyptians' commitment to conduct these negotiations is based on the Camp David Agreement. International agreements are made between nations and not persons. Therefore, the fact that Sadat was murdered and Carter is no longer serving as President cannot diminish in the least the commitment of the nations. Now the Egyptians are saying that they do not want to come to the negotiations as long as the IDF is in Lebanon. All the signs indicate that the true reasons are others. On the one hand, the Egyptians want to be accepted by the Arab nations. On the other hand, we know that the United States is doing everything in order to induce King Husayn to come to the negotiating table. I want to note that President Reagan's speech of 1 September did not contribute to the progress of matters but instead raised the level of Arab demands. I can give an outstanding example of this when I say that in that same speech Reagan said that Jerusalem must be united but its final status must be negotiated. On that very day, when I was in New York, I responded that Israel cannot accept this position. For those who are old enough, this formula brings back bitter memories of Danzig, Memel, and others.

We stand on the autonomy plan, and we do not see the PLO as a partner to the negotiations. We see no reason to increase the area of the Kingdom of Jordan by the addition of territory and population.

[Question] We have recently heard various statements, at times even contradictory, about our relations with the United States. What is the state of the relations between the United States and us today?

[Answer] There are points of agreement and points of disagreement. Both nations agree that no foreign force should remain on Lebanese soil; that Lebanon must not be a base and springboard for renewed terrorist activity; and that the security of

the people of Israel must be guaranteed and firm. The dispute with the United States begins with the question as to how to guarantee the security. Observation posts, joint patrols, inspection teams, these are some of the possibilities now under discussion with both Lebanon and the United States.

How To Guarantee Security

In regard to the territories, for years now there have been differences of opinion between the United States and us on our right and obligation to establish settlements in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District. We believe that the function of the settlements there, in the context of stressing our historical right, is to prevent a physical-political partition of Eretz Yisrael. For this reason, the Americans are opposed to our position because they want to preserve other options in Judea and Samaria.

It must be assumed that with the successful conclusion of the negotiations on Lebanon, a number of points of difference between us will disappear, and then, the importance and urgency of the autonomy talks will be raised again. Incidentally, I want to note that King Husayn's announcement that he will not join the negotiations without 'Arafat's agreement indicates that he is not an independent factor in the region.

[Question] And what is the status of the negotiations with Lebanon?

[Answer] There is a prospect and strong hope for achieving an agreement. There is a doubt if the agreement will be reached by the time these words are printed.

[Question] Dr Burg, isn't it strange that Carter who signed the Camp David Agreement is making statements against us?

[Answer] After he stated that as he remembers a freezing of the settlements was agreed upon, I responded immediately. I quoted President Sadat's speech of 19 September 1978 in Cairo. The speech was translated and circulated in Washington the following day on which he said that we had agreed to a freeze for only 3 months. It is possible that Carter's intention was for the good, but his statements did not contribute to quiet in the region.

The Rabbinate after the Election of the Chief Rabbis

[Question] And now, Mr Minister, what can you tell us about the status of the rabbinate after the election of the two chief rabbis?

[Answer] It seems to me that there was an unpleasant exaggeration in the information circulated about a certain candidate for chief rabbi, in which there was talk of "restoring the dignity to the chief rabbinate" and other things. In my opinion, the outgoing chief rabbis did much to preserve the unity of the people and to bolster the status of the chief rabbinate. Certain clouds which appeared in the months just before the election cannot darken the essentially positive picture.

In regard to the outgoing chief rabbis, it will be necessary to assure that also in the future the public will be able to benefit from the wellsprings of their

Torah knowledge. On the other hand, since a majority to change the 10-year service constraint could not be found, we should welcome the successful election of the two chief rabbis, Avraham Shapira and Mordekhai Eliyahu.

After things calm down, it will be necessary to conduct a thorough examination of the law of the rabbinate which imposes a barrier to competition at the conclusion of the term of service, the source of the law, and the dissatisfaction with it. The dissatisfaction stems from the dual function of the chief rabbinate: To the extent that the chief rabbi is a judge, he must be independent like every judge. Naturally, he should not be a candidate for reelection but his term should end like every judge when he reaches the age of departure. On the other hand, the chief rabbi has important administrative authorities. This fact, of course, requires the limitation of the term of service. This is why there is a need to restudy this entire matter.

[Question] For 30 years now the law against deception in kosher and non-kosher food has been "kicking around." Last week it was approved again in the cabinet. Is there any chance of its being adopted in the near future by the Knesset?

[Answer] You are right. Part of the difficulty in the passage of this law stems from both the rightists and the leftists, neither of whom wants to recognize the authority of the chief rabbinate. It seems to me that it is a great distortion to present this matter as solely a religious issue. Every decent person should be interested in assuring that what is sold to him is in accordance with the standard and the truth. Our friends made a mistake also in the law against autopsies which was presented as a religious matter at a time when it was a human issue, that nothing should be done to a person's body against his will.

There Is No Need for Another Religious List

[Question] With your permission, Mr Minister, let us turn to NRP affairs. We have heard about the intention to establish a new party from the national religious community by the name of MATZAD. What is your reaction?

[Answer] The response to your question must be on different levels. In terms of the reservoir of votes in the national religious camp, it is a camp which has lost seats to the Likud, TAMI, and the Tehiyah. In view of the damage to the NRP, there is no need for another national religious list. The fragments of a building that is being destroyed are not bricks for construction. A heavy historical responsibility lies upon the factionists. On the ideological level, we have heard nothing new. A long time ago I heard from the early leaders of Mizrachi the slogan, "The Land of Israel for the People of Israel in accordance with the Torah of Israel." To leave for the MATZAD at a time when the movement is preparing for internal elections is a sign of weakness and flight from the true campaign. They either have the votes in the party or they do not. If they have them, they should come to the elections. If not, they have lost their political-moral claim. If the elections to the Knesset are held on time, in 1985, what will the MATZAD people do in the meantime? I have received much encouragement from our friends abroad, including Bnai Akiva activists, who are opposed to separation and isolation.

[Question] What do you believe must be done to remove the feeling of discrimination from the hearts of the Sephardi members, to increase ethnic group equality, and perhaps to return the TAMI people to the movement?

[Answer] No movement in Israel has done as much for the unity of the Jewish people as the NRP, in schools, in youth immigration, in settlement projects, and in the Bnai Akiva movement. The growing percentage of non-Ashkenazis in Bar-Ilan University indicates the correctness of our viewpoint because in education we see the surest and quickest way to achieve full equality and integration of the various ethnic groups. Exploitation of incidents of unfairness by political activists is not the way to solve problems. We must work to return our members of the Oriental communities to the ranks of the movement. The reasons which determined their separationist position in the 1981 elections were only temporary while the values of Torah and Eretz Yisrael are eternal.

His Opinion of the Work of the Police

[Question] As the one who is responsible for the police, what do you think of the work of the police in general?

[Answer] For the first time in many years there has been a decrease in crime, by 9 percent, about an 8 percent decrease in property crimes, and about an 18 percent decrease in breaking and entering. It is noteworthy that police activities in 1982 to control crime were carried out concurrently with successful actions to apprehend the perpetrators of the most serious and violent crimes. This is in addition to the efforts of the police in internal security matters, preservation of public order, and combatting traffic accidents.

[Question] What is being done in the area of juvenile crime?

[Answer] Since there has been a certain increase in juvenile crime, primarily in the Arab sector, the emphasis has been placed on improving the skill of the youth workers by means of professional and advanced training. Sixty youth workers were certified in addition to the 165 previously certified. This action is designed to reduce juvenile crime on the one hand and to prevent the entry of additional juveniles into the cycle of crime. Police clubs are functioning in the schools.

[Question] What about the investigation of crimes?

[Answer] Serious crimes perpetrated in a number of districts or abroad are investigated by personnel of the national unit which has two investigative sections: a section to investigate Nazi crimes and an intelligence section. Hundreds of persons have been investigated by the Nazi Crimes Section and aid was given to witnesses who testified in Israel and abroad.

As a result of the work of a secret agent over many months, in cooperation with the Southern District, many suspects were arrested in cases involving drugs, stolen property, and weapons. The innovation this year was a permanent record of the deals by means of video. During the investigation of break-ins into synagogues, 58 stolen Torah scrolls have been recovered to date.

[Question] What is the scope of the counter-terrorist activity?

[Answer] Since their defeat in Lebanon the terrorists want to show that they are alive and functioning. In recent months there has been an increase in the number of terrorist incidents. About 70 percent of the attacks took place in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. In 1982 police sappers were called to dispose of about 38,000 suspicious objects.

Work of the Border Guard

[Question] I will end with a question about the border guard.

[Answer] The border guard, the units of which are deployed along the length and breadth of the nation, proved again last year that it is capable of adapting to changing situations and to cope anytime and anywhere with the entire spectrum of problems, beginning with the maintenance of public order in the green line area and beyond to the fulfillment of security missions within the IDF structure such as in Operation Peace for Galilee. Border guard units took part in actions in Lebanon, in current security actions, in the location of terrorist nests, and in the imposition of law and order. Last year a border guard unit was deployed on the Temple Mount. The ports of Elat and Ashdod will remain under the responsibility of the border guard also during the next year.

[Question] To conclude, please extend holiday greetings to the readers of HATZOFÉ.

[Answer] We are a community the substance of which is symbolized by the three festivals of Israel which are pilgrimage holidays: On Passover we celebrate our national liberation in the exodus from Egypt; on Shavuot we celebrate the spiritual liberation after we have built a bridge with the days of the Counting of the Omer; on Sukkot [Tabernacles], the holiday of the harvest, we have a holiday of thanksgiving and satisfaction for people of Torah and labor.

Happy holiday!

5830

CSO: 4423/118

ISRAEL

BROADCASTING AUTHORITY PERMITTED TO INTERVIEW PLO SYMPATHIZERS

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 25 Mar 83 p 6

[Article by Avino'am Bar Yosef: "Three Supreme Court Judges Decide That the Broadcasting Authority Is Permitted to Interview Persons Identified with the PLO"]

[Text] Reporters of the Broadcasting Authority will henceforth be permitted to hold interviews with public figures in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District who are identified with the PLO. Such a decision was taken yesterday in the Supreme Court after the deliberation of a petition of lawyer Amnon Zikhroni of Tel Aviv.

Judges Dov Levin, Gavriel Bak, and Yehuda Cohen agreed that such interviews can not be banned as long as the Authority and the Management Committee do not find a way to define clearly the expressions "public figures" and "identified with the PLO."

Lawyer Zikhroni filed an appeal against the Management Committee of the Broadcasting Authority and the Broadcasting Authority in the matter of the decision taken almost a year ago which stated that "no interviews are to be conducted with parties who have declared themselves hostile to the State of Israel and are fighting against it. The PLO is such a party, and therefore, there is to be no broadcasting of interviews with public figures who are identified as regarding the PLO as the exclusive or legitimate representative of the Arabs residing in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District."

The appellant claims that this decision prejudices the citizen's right to know, runs counter to the propriety of debate, and adversely affects freedom of expression.

Judge Dov Levin emphasized in the verdict that the Management Committee had full authority to make its decision. He affirmed that the Broadcasting Authority is permitted by law to decide that making television and radio available to the PLO can damage the interests and security of the state and that the state is not required to adhere blindly to the rights of the citizen. However, the decision does not respond to the question as to how one is to determine who is identified with the PLO and who is not, and therefore, he decided to grant the appeal and to change the order nisi to an absolute one.

Judge Gavriel Bak provided additional reasons for granting the appeal. He sees nothing to prevent the checking of every recorded or filmed interview by a responsible team and its cancellation only if it contains inflammatory material. In his opinion, the decision imposes an overall restriction on the freedom of expression and precludes a balanced presentation of the issues by various persons even if the security of the state is not adversely affected.

Judge Yehuda Cohen accepted the rationale of Dov Levin and concurred in his opinion.

The chairman of the Management Committee of the Broadcasting Authority, Reuven Yaron, said in his reaction that the verdict obligates the Broadcasting Authority and that it will act accordingly.

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DEPUTY AL-RAFI'I DISCUSSES OBSTRUCTIVE SYRIAN ROLE, IRANIANS

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 279, 28 Mar 83 pp 26-28

[Interview with Deputy Dr 'Abd al-Majid al-Rafi'i, secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Regional Command in Lebanon, By Samir Abu Hamdan: "What Iranians Are Doing in al-Biq'a' Is Identical to What Haddad Is Doing in South; Tripoli Has Paid Dear Price for Its Patriotic Stands; Recent Months Have Given Greater Credibility to True Iraqi Position"; date and place not given]

[Text] An interview with Deputy Dr 'Abd al-Majid al-Rafi'i at this particular time is significant because of events in the Arab and local arenas. As secretary of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party Regional Command in Lebanon, Dr al-Rafi'i occupies a prominent position on the national and pan-Arab political scene. Therefore, this interview with Dr al-Rafi'i is not so much an attempt to examine the Lebanese situation as it is an attempt to explore the Arab situation.

[Question] There is no doubt that the tragic situation in Tripoli recently has changed the balance of forces in the city. Can you paint for us the current political map there?

[Answer] Events are usually assessed on the basis of their consequences. The Tripoli events are no different. What the city has witnessed in the past few months is, to put it briefly, the issue of the struggle between a unification course exerting efforts to restore the country's unity and to spread the sovereignty of the legitimate government over all Lebanese territory and another course that has worked and still works to complicate the situation in Lebanon in order to achieve its special goals, which are evidently in very strong conflict with the Lebanese masses' aspirations and their ceaseless efforts to preserve the fundamental mainstays of national unity.

The capital of the north has made enormous sacrifices with the lives of its citizens and with its economic capabilities because it has chosen the path that restores to Lebanon its unity, independence and undiminished sovereignty over all its territory and because it has chosen to defend its national identity and its sound pan-Arab role in the Lebanese national equation.

It is no secret that Tripoli, this steadfast and patient city, has paid a dear price for this stand. But Tripoli had no other option.

As for the balances of forces in the city, they are, in our opinion, divided into two parts:

The first is the city with its masses, its political leaders committed to Tripoli's vital cause, its general national causes and the economic, social and cultural leaders on one side and the foreign forces that have fabricated the problems to achieve well-known objectives on the other side. The course of events and the recent agreement reached on measures for a solution have proven the validity of these words.

The second part, and this is the part I believe you mean, is embodied in the blocs that have emerged recently. This part is represented in practical terms by two groups:

The first includes the forces that have suspended their membership in the Coordination Committee, including the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, the Socialist Democratic 24 October [or November] Movement and the Islamic Salvation Front, which represents the open-minded Islamic current.

The second group includes the forces that are still a party to the so-called Coordination Committee, which comprises former prime minister Rashid Karami, some forces counted as pro-Syrian and pro-Palestinian-resistance, representatives of the Syrian forces and their intelligence agencies and some Palestinian resistance factions.

[Question] What is the identity of the forces that benefit from creating turmoil in Tripoli?

[Answer] Those who benefit from the events are usually those who gain from the results [of this turmoil]. Depending on how the parties involved define their goals, they may benefit from the results in the short or long run. It may so happen that all may benefit at a given point. The issue must be viewed from a relative, not absolute, perspective.

The party that has fabricated the Tripoli events in order to subjugate the city and its masses on the one hand and, on the other hand, to reimpose its political and security role in the Lebanese equation believes that it has achieved results serving its interest insofar as reimposing its role is concerned because this party wanted the subjugation of the city to be an entree to achieving this objective. Within this context, this party has gained an advantage.

As for the other party or parties that have declared their rejection of the method of imposing political custodianship and containment on the city, they too have achieved results serving their interests. The magnificent steadfastness displayed by Tripoli's masses despite the enormous losses inflicted on them has prevented the city's arm from being twisted and the slogan of ousting those who block Lebanon's unity has become a sweeping popular demand, excluding some people who are fearful, reluctant or have tied their future to orders from abroad.

This is insofar as the role of the forces involved in the recent events is concerned.

But the biggest winner in all this is no doubt the Zionist enemy, who has rejoiced to see Lebanon's second capital being exposed to destructive shelling, its citizens killed, its economic and social facilities destroyed and the conditions of its masses turning chaotic and, consequently, the blocking of its role in contributing to the effort exerted to confront the Zionist occupation.

[Question] Do these beneficiary forces still maintain a fundamental weight in the wake of recent events?

[Answer] Naturally, nobody has neutralized anybody. Moreover, the Zionist enemy is still entrenched on our soil and there have been no major developments in the prevailing situation. But as we have already pointed out, the battle for Tripoli's return to the bosom of Lebanon, the motherland, through democratic means is wide open and is progressing steadily, despite the presence of obstacles and haggling.

[Question] How do you view the legitimate forces in Tripoli at present and can the legitimate government, represented by the security forces present there, establish adequate security in the city?

[Answer] In our view, the legitimate government constitutes more than simply security tasks performed by the Lebanese security forces. Legitimacy involves the country's unity, the legitimacy of Lebanese law and the legitimacy of respect for the citizens' rights. Ultimately, the legitimate government is the total administrative, judicial, economic, health, service and security presence of the state, from all foreign influences. Within this framework, the presence of the state at one level is not what is wanted. Whether it has or does not have its justifications in this regard, the state, with all its institutions, must take stronger initiatives and must be more effective in interacting positively with the popular eagerness for a stronger relationship with the central government.

As for the security role of the legitimate government's forces, which are represented by the internal security forces, these forces recently have been able to achieve relative procedural [ijra'iyah] security, and we say relative because the barricades are still present in the quarters, because armed elements roam at will, because not a single week passes without disruption in the situation and because the security we hope for cannot be achieved under the complex circumstances of Lebanon generally and the circumstances involving Tripoli and the foreign intervention in particular. In our demand, we go beyond limiting security tasks to the internal security forces calling for the army to participate in maintaining security in the city and at the city's entrances and exits so that the security [task] will be confined to the legitimate Lebanese government alone.

[Question] Some say that there is a link between what is happening in Mount Lebanon and what is happening in Tripoli. Can you explain this point to us?

[Answer] The talk about a link between what has occurred in Mount Lebanon and Tripoli is unsound unless put in the context of the impact of these events on Lebanon and all the pressures to which Lebanon is being subjected. The enemy has ignited the Mount Lebanon war to complicate this complexity to exert further pressure on the Lebanese position, which has become firm in the face of the Zionist demands. This enemy has fanned the fires of war for the past 3 months to create a climate conducive to creating a state of sectarian and factional separation between the Lebanese as part of its efforts to achieve its ultimate goals against Lebanon, to fragment the country and to redraw Lebanon's political map along sectarian and factional lines.

As for the events in Tripoli, even though the forces stirring them are different, the fact remains that resorting to the trumpet of sectarian instigation between the Lebanese and creating obstacles in the path of the state to prevent it from spreading its sovereignty over Lebanese soil and from exercising its role in protecting the security and possessions of the citizens--the fact remains that these actions flow ultimately into the scheme to fragment Lebanon's unity. This in itself represents an element of linkage between the goals behind the events in Mount Lebanon and the events taking place in the capital of the north.

[Question] In your capacity as a major political figure on the Lebanese stage, some fault you for failing to take a firm and clear stand toward the Mount Lebanon events. Is this true?

[Answer] You can refer to the stand we have repeatedly declared on the Mount Lebanon events in particular. From the first moment the events erupted, we drew attention to their serious nature, pointing out that the only beneficiary from them is the Zionist enemy because it is the party that created the climate necessary for touching off these events. The enemy is, of course, the only party capable of controlling the course of these events. We cannot but be opposed to these events, which have been manipulated and controlled by the enemy to serve its interests and we don't absolve from responsibility the side that has sought support from the Zionist element to strengthen its political and military positions. Our position has been both decisive and clear in this regard. We have never been ashamed of this position and have not tried to flatter anybody with it because it is a position compatible with our national and pan-Arab convictions. We have contacted all the parties concerned and the officials at various levels, urging them to shoulder their national responsibility, to put a stop to this serious drain and to bar the door through which the Zionist enemy is trying to penetrate so as to achieve its goals.

Considering that those who have been involved in the Mount Lebanon battles had been lured by the enemy, then we are the ones who should fault them because they have all been losers and the only winner has been the occupying enemy. Any words to the contrary are inconsistent with the actual situation and the truth.

[Question] In the wake of the war and the resistance's departure from Beirut, is the party thinking of formulating a new strategy for political action or has it already drawn up such a strategy?

[Answer] The latest war has imposed new facts on the arena and these facts dictate the need to formulate plans to deal with them. Considering the occupation to which our land is subjected and the obstacles that impede a restoration of the country's unity and the establishment of full sovereignty over it, our phased strategy is summed up in 3 goals that have priority in our struggle:

First goal: Liberate the country from the Zionist occupation.

Second goal: Restore Lebanon's unity, establish the legitimate government's sovereignty over all Lebanese territory and achieve full independence.

Third goal: Reform the political and economic system so that it can respond to the interests of the overwhelming majority of our masses, rehabilitate democratic struggle in Lebanese political life and protect political and national public liberties.

[Question] Some say that discussions are underway to establish an alternative to the national movement formula, provided that this formula excludes the small organizations and the parties with pan-Arab extensions or, to put it more precisely, the parties with specific relations with some Arab regimes. What is your position?

[Answer] We have not heard anything of the sort. All that there is to the matter is that the national movement as an organizational framework for the meeting of the national parties, forces and figures has broken apart. The parties have resumed dealing with the actual situation from their individual positions, with the presence of some coordination and cooperation between some parties but without commitment to any specific formula. Here, we must always distinguish between the national movement as a specific organizational formula and the national movement as a political current whose components agree on numerous common political denominators without being grouped within set organizational frameworks. From this perspective, the national movement as a national current seeking to achieve the best political, social and economic structure is still present and will continue to be alive. This movement depends on a long legacy of struggle and a history abounding with sacrifices for the sake of demands and of national and social causes.

Considering that the national formula is gained through national struggle, action and behavior committed to the masses' causes, nobody can install himself as custodian over national action or can give an authorization in this or that sphere. The arena is open to all and whoever possesses the qualifications for serious work and the political and popular legitimacy is welcome to engage in action and serve the fundamental national causes in this fateful phase of the country's history. But if some are thinking of establishing blocs, this will lead to the emergence of other blocs and all this will generate negative results for national action in Lebanon.

For this reason, we believe that unifying the national effort on the basis of political agreement over the principles of sovereignty, unity and democracy and of expanding the framework of representation to include all the national leaders with popular and political weight and influence--we believe that this

is the only way to secure the fundamental bases for Lebanon's unity, independence and full sovereignty. Inasmuch as this framework can reaffirm the independence of Lebanon's national political decision, it can also be more capable of internal polarization and of utilizing the Arab element as an element assisting Lebanon in its crisis instead of its being an element of complication.

As for those who attribute the previous weakness of the national leadership to the intervention of the Arab regimes in the conditions of national action, this is just one aspect of this issue, another aspect being embodied in the readiness of many of the national parties to commit themselves politically to serving the plans of Arab regimes that complicate the Lebanese crisis. This commitment created a fundamentally fatal flaw in the national movement. We believe that the issues must be faced seriously and responsibly and must not be circumvented by being left behind, unresolved.

[Question] Regarding the Iraq-Iran war, how do you view it now that it has entered its third year and what, in your opinion, is the way to put a final end to the Persian aggression?

[Answer] This war, which has entered the second half of its third year, is, of course, the longest regular war since World War II. If we view it from the standpoint of Iraq's ability to confront the Persian invasion, then there is no doubt that it is one of the historical feats of the modern Arab struggle, considering the military and political capability with which the political leadership has managed this war under the command of struggler President Saddam Husayn. In the past few months, this war has given added credibility to the true Iraqi position with the exposure of the dimensions of the Persian rulers' aggressive and expansionist schemes in Iraq and the Arab Gulf.

Excluding those who have tied themselves to a direct alliance with the Persian regime and who have offered this regime all military and material facilities, all others are aware of the Iranian regime's aggressive tendencies and the extent of the danger it poses to the fate of the Arab nation in its entirety.

The Arab regimes that have stood in the same trench with the Iranian regime in its war against Iraq, an Arab country with genuine Arabism, are not really Arabs but simply bear Arab nationality, because whoever supports the Persian against the Arab can be nothing but anti-Arab with malice in his heart for Arabism and hostility toward its heritage and history. Though Arab history has witnessed some phenomena of anti-Arabism [al-shu'ubiyah] in past ages, these phenomena have become clearer in their present positions, and the actions of those who falsely carry the name of Arab and Arabism have become more provocative to the sentiments of the Arab masses. We believe that these people have become totally exposed and that they can find no support in plotting with the enemies of the Arab nation, and in seeking strength from these enemies to preserve their oppressive positions and their divisive and selfish interests.

As for ways to put a final end to the Persian aggression, this can be done in two ways:

First, the occurrence of a political change within the present Iranian regime and the emergence of a new regime that finds in peace with Iraq and the Arab nation a mutual interest for the Iranian and Arab peoples, that refrains from interfering in other peoples' internal affairs and that observes the international charters and traditions that determine the relations between nations.

Second, the occurrence of serious intervention on the part of the international community--an intervention through which this community can create the conditions conducive to finding a solution. This is in addition to a development in the Arab position vis-a-vis the Iranian regime, a development that views this regime's dangerous behavior from the standpoint of its being a danger to pan-Arabism and a fragmentary danger that objectively accords with the dangers of the Zionist scheme.

Whether the first or second development materializes, the fundamental factors behind the initiation of such a development can be found in nothing other than the infliction of further military defeats on this regime. The developments witnessed on the battlefronts since last year, the heroic confrontation of the valiant Iraqi Army and the grave losses this army is inflicting on the Persian enemy will sooner or later force this malicious regime to reconsider its plans. This regime will discover, even if after a while, that it has committed the fatal mistake of clashing with Arabism and its vigorous forces.

[Question] It is well known that Lebanese-Israeli negotiations aimed at ousting the foreign armies from Lebanon are underway. How do you assess the progress of these negotiations and do you think that the Lebanese regime is committed so far to national principles and to the principle of sovereignty?

[Answer] As these negotiations have not yet been concluded, one cannot make a final assessment of them. But it has become evident in the course of the negotiations that the Lebanese position is subjected to major pressures, some internal and some external. But what is obvious so far is that the regime is still clinging to national principles and to all that is likely to protect its sovereignty and is trying to prevent any weakening of this sovereignty.

We believe that the Lebanese position must be as firm as possible so that the enemy will not be able to achieve any political or security gains on our soil. This requires action along two parallel lines, in addition to stressing the truce agreement and to implementing Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509.

The first line is that of fortifying the internal front against hostile and confusion-creating security and political penetration, and the second line is that of utilizing all elements of Arab and international support to serve the Lebanese position. This makes it necessary not to allow the issue to be confined to the hands of the U.S. administration because this administration will not at all act in an even-handed manner between Lebanon and the Zionist entity. We have stressed this and we continue to stress it and we believe that many Lebanese who are loyal to their national cause share this opinion.

[Question] Do you think that the Syrian and Iranian presence in al-Biqa' is a justification used by the enemy to stay [in Lebanon]?

[Answer] First, a distinction must be made, insofar as form is concerned, between the Syrian presence and the Iranian groups in al-Biqa'. The Syrians are present in al-Biqa', the north and a part of Mount Lebanon. In its current form, this presence constitutes a pressure on the Lebanese political and popular position. The sole goal of the Syrians is to employ this presence to maintain a role in Lebanon and in the settlement being negotiated under the patronage of the United States.

Second, the Iranian presence in al-Biqa' serves in essence the current tendency of the Syrian regime--a tendency based on creating a climate of fragmentation in Lebanese society and on putting obstacles in the path of the legitimate government to prevent it from spreading its control over all Lebanese territory. The actions perpetrated by the Iranian groups are fully embraced by the Syrian regime which directs these actions any way it likes. What the Iranian groups are doing in al-Biqa' is identical to a great extent to what Sa'd Haddad, the Zionist agent, is doing in the south and in western al-Biqa'. Within this framework, both sides agree on one goal--the goal of fragmenting Lebanon's geographic and social unity and of obstructing every effort exerted to restore the country's unity and establish sovereignty over it. The latest events in Ba'labakk and in the south are the best proof of this goal which is intended to prolong the occupation of Lebanese territory.

8494

CSO: 4404/301

BRIEFS

CURRENCY SPECULATION--The Lebanese Pound gained against the dollar last week but by a very slim margin which did not allow for a recovery of last month's losses. The most outstanding reason for the retreat of the Lebanese Pound, at least in relation to the dollar, is the unprecedented stagnation in the economy arising from the reduction of cash influx from abroad, and the fear both of what the future may be holding in store on the political level and of the recent gains made by the dollar in international markets. All this has created waves of speculation forcing the Bank of Lebanon to issue a statement renouncing these speculations as unjustifiable, especially since, according to the Bank, there was a surplus in the Lebanese balance of payments last year, the year of the war, in the amount of 300 million dollars. The General Federation of Labor in its statement said: "Of the secondary activities which represent the basic causes for the high cost of living and inflation and which do not contribute to national wealth, the most prominent is speculation on the dollar and other foreign currencies. The expected profits from speculation, therefore, are not real profits." [Text] [London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No. 164, 2-8 Apr 83 p 48]

CSO: 4404/355

PLO'S QADDUMI DISCUSSES REAGAN PLAN, PLO'S ROLE

PM061831 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 7-13 May 83 pp 3-5

[Interview with Faruq Qaddumi, head of PLO Political Department, by Muhammad Ma'tuq--place and date not given]

[Text] Faruq Qaddumi recently met with British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Douglas Hurd in Tunis, a meeting which aroused the anger and fury of Israel's supporters in the British Parliament. They considered this an indication of a change in the attitude of the British Government, which previously refused to receive Qaddumi as a member of the Arab seven-man delegation which visited London in March. Israel officially told the British Government that it is "astonished and dismayed" by Hurd's meeting with Qaddumi.

Asked about his meeting with Hurd, Qaddumi said: The importance of the meeting with Hurd lies in the fact that it was his first with the PLO. I had previously met with the British minister last summer, but that was part of a meeting with an Arab delegation of which I was a member. In the recent meeting we discussed Middle East issues and the British attitude toward them, particularly with regard to what happened between us and the Jordanian Government in the recent talks and the position we have reached.

[Question] Was it a general discussion or did Hurd bring specific proposals?

[Answer] Hurd told us during the talks that there is a golden opportunity that should not be missed, and that peace efforts must succeed. He stressed that he considers the Palestinian stand very important. He particularly referred to Reagan's initiative. We told him that this initiative failed to take into consideration two basic elements: first, the establishment of a Palestinian state and, second, the PLO's right to represent the Palestinian people, this people's right to self-determination, and the right of Palestinian refugees to return home. This is what makes the initiative unsuitable as a basis for any just and lasting peace in the area. We also told Hurd that the European countries, and particularly Britain, have a moral and historical responsibility to exert pressure in the right direction, the direction of recognizing the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. By pressure here we mean in particular pressure on the United States. We pointed out that U.S. credibility is lacking with regard to two basic points:

Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and a halt to settlement building in the occupied territories.

[Question] Do you believe that Reagan's initiative is dead?

[Answer] The attitude of the Palestine National Council at its recent meeting in Algiers was clear; it did not consider it a suitable basis for any just and lasting solution. But we realize that the United States is continuing its efforts to revive that initiative. Our position is still the same, but we do not know whether other parties will accept it. So Reagan's initiative is out of the question for us. Whether it is dead or alive does not matter to us.

[Question] Reagan said that some Arab officials support his initiative. From your position as the head of the PLO Political Department, how do you view such statements?

[Answer] There is a well-known Arab resolution, namely the Fes summit resolution. In Fes the Arabs did not discuss Reagan's plan or the question of approving it. All that the Arabs approved was the initiative they submitted. There is nothing to indicate that some Arab regimes have approved Reagan's initiative. Statements attributed to King Husayn may have indicated otherwise. As for the rest, we have not heard a different stand from them. On this occasion I would like to say that we will resist any jeopardizing of our national rights and any attempt to forsake those rights. We absolutely reject having anyone speak in the name of the Palestinian people or negotiate on their behalf.

[Question] What are the Palestinian alternatives to the U.S. plan or the freezing of the peace process?

[Answer] The U.S. plan is not the only initiative in the area, nor do we think it serves peace. There are other initiatives. There is the Arab initiative in Fes, which is a suitable basis for any just settlement in the area. There is also another initiative: Brezhnev's initiative; the six points it contains guarantee the Palestinian people's national rights. There is no contradiction between the two initiatives; in fact, they are identical in their principles and basis. As for Reagan's plan, it is absolutely no different from Camp David, which is absolutely rejected by our Palestinian people.

[Question] There is talk of the PLO's role coming to an end because of the dispersion of its forces among several Arab countries, some of which are very distant from the front. There is also talk of the PLO having lost a unique opportunity by rejecting Reagan's plan. What is your comment?

[Answer] The PLO is basically a political organization with a military wing. It carries out military action as a basic part of its operations but at the same time it represents the Palestinian people's aspirations and national objectives; it represents a cause that all the hostile forces have

so far been unable to ignore. It is recognized by 117 countries and by international blocs such as the nonaligned bloc, the Islamic Conference, the Arab League, and the socialist countries. Some of its rights are recognized by the European countries. There is almost a world consensus on recognizing the PLO. To say that its role is finished is nonsense and quite contrary to the truth. This is a principal objective which Israel is seeking; the savage Israeli attack on Beirut and Lebanon was only to achieve this objective, but our forces' steadfastness was clear evidence of the failure of the conspiracy aimed at striking at the PLO's military arm and infrastructure. We confidently say that the conspiracy has failed and that we have gained greater strength in our political status in the world. To say that we have missed an opportunity, I do not believe that Reagan's plan was an opportunity; it is a U.S. political tactic and not a strategy. [sentence as published] Therefore it cannot be considered a basis for any settlement. Apparently the Reagan plan was intended to absorb the Arab and international furor that broke out as a result of the Israeli attack on Lebanon and the U.S. collusion.

[Question] Following the departure from Beirut there was discussion as to whether the PLO had abandoned the military option. Are the PLO's forces still capable of exerting military pressure in the direction of a suitable solution?

[Answer] We are an armed revolution that pursues the method of guerrilla warfare in fighting. The tactic followed in guerrilla warfare in attacking hostile targets is well known. I refer you to the military action inside the occupied territories and against the Israeli forces in Lebanon. It is clear evidence of the effectiveness of these military forces. Many world revolutions did not recover 100 percent of their territories in the first stage but staged massive wars of attrition, after which the enemy submitted to their objectives and withdrew from their territories. There is the example of Algeria; there is also the example of Lebanon.

[Question] Prior to U.S. Secretary of State Shultz' tour of the area Reagan said that it is possible to bypass the PLO. Do you see that this is possible?

[Answer] It is not easy to bypass the PLO and its role in any efforts for peace because this means bypassing the Palestinian problem entirely. There is not a single Arab party which accepts international forces' bypassing the PLO and the Palestinian people's cause. All the Arab conferences testify to this fact.

[Question] Do you believe that Reagan's administration actually wants to exert pressure on Israel to make it withdraw from Lebanon or halt the settlements?

[Answer] All past experience with the U.S. administration shows that it does not wish to exert pressure on Israel. Also, statements by U.S. officials indicate that the United States does not wish to apply such pressure.

The United States had previously promised several times to achieve an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon but to date Israel has not withdrawn. Unfortunately, pressure is being brought to bear on Lebanon in order to make concessions. But the Lebanese side is standing fast and, as far as we know, has not made any concessions so far.

[Question] With regard to the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue which recently ended with the announcement by the Jordanian Government that it had stopped it, do you expect it to be resumed shortly?

[Answer] Dialogue between us and the Jordanian Government does not deal with one subject only. There is a joint committee to support our people's steadfastness in the occupied territories. There is joint Palestinian-Jordanian action. There are also many problems and issues concerning the Palestinian people and Palestinian citizens and their acquired rights. Political settlements are not the only subject of dialogue with our brothers in Jordan. If dialogue on a certain question reached a certain point it does not mean that contacts between us have stopped. This is because relations between the two sides are special and distinguished. The PNC has agreed to consider them to be so. We are prepared to establish relations between us on a confederal basis.

With regard to settlements and dialogue in their regard, there are differences of view. We believe that the basis should be the Arab peace plan that was approved by the Fes summit, not the Reagan plan. We have stressed the [PLO's] sole Palestinian representation. This is in accord with the PNC's resolutions and the 15th PNC session in Algiers.

[Question] It has been said that the PLO has no objection to King Husayn's acting separately for the restoration of the occupied territories, provided that this is not considered a final solution of the Palestinian problem. How true is this?

[Answer] If Jordan was capable of regaining the occupied territories it would have regained them when the Arabs had in their hands many cards which they could use to exert pressure. Once the late President Jamal 'Abd an-Nasir told King Husayn: "You have the green light. Contact the United States and regain the land." That was at the end of the sixties. Later, at the Rabat summit in 1974, King Husayn stood up and said that he was not even offered a disengagement of forces [with Israel] in the West Bank. So if the Arab military, political, economic, and financial options that were available to the Arabs then were greater than they are today yet still were unable to regain these territories, what cards will they use today in order to achieve this objective? Political action is not mere hopes and wishes. Every party must play the cards in its hands. We have before us Israel's expansionist objectives. We also have before us Reagan's plan, which will not lead to the restoration of the occupied territories and the liberation of our people. The plan is a major trick that we should avoid and seek to stop. The disagreement is not between us and Jordan; rather it is between both of us and the United States, which does not want to put pressure on Israel to make it withdraw from the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan.

[Question] How do you imagine the balance of power will change?

[Answer] By what I said I mean the Arab balance of power. The increasing strength of the Arabs and our friends could lead to a change in the balance of power. We must begin by solving many of the outstanding Arab problems, stopping the Iraq-Iran war, achieving Arab cooperation and solidarity, and boosting Arab military strength.

[Question] Do you hope changes will occur at the Arab summit level in the Arab world?

[Answer] I cannot imagine or expect that any changes are likely to happen at the summit level.

[Question] There are reports of Syrian and Israeli military concentrations and a state of alert on both sides. Do you believe that a new war will break out?

[Answer] The possibilities of war between Syria and Israel exist. Israel is concentrating its forces and the intention to launch an aggression against Syria is there. We expect an attack on the Palestinian and Syrian forces in Al-Biqa'. Israel has accustomed us to its carrying out such attacks from time to time in order to achieve its objectives. Almost a year has passed and yet it has not withdrawn from Lebanon. It is hoping to achieve its objectives of occupation, which so far it has failed to achieve.

CSO: 4400/522

'FILASTIN ATH-THAWRAH' COMMENTS ON REAGAN PLAN

GF301356 Aden Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1820 GMT 29 Apr 83

[FILASTIN ATH-THAWRAH editorial: "The PLO Is the Only Representative and America Does Not Determine Our Destiny"—date not given]

[Text] After the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue was suspended, observers and political analysts agreed that the Middle East crisis entered a new stage that has its special features, and present and expected powers. Some Arabs like to see that the most distinctive features are approaching the point where the Arab stand will agree with what the United States wants for this region, submitting to the U.S. belief that not much time is left for too much Arab talk after today, and that what is required is to enhance the Arab-Israeli dialogue and to introduce additional elements into it in order for it to reach its destination by offering to the Reagan plan full Arab approval.

While other Arabs prefer to disregard the features of the path that was drawn by Washington for the implementation of the Reagan plan by obtaining a general Arab stand to liquidate the PLO, relinquish the Fes resolutions, and open the way for bargaining on the Arab peace plan in order to liquidate it and obliterate the other peace proposals such as the Soviet initiative and the UN resolutions on the resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict and establishing a permanent, just, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East which has gained nationwide and international approval and support.

The other Arabs saw that their interests lie in evading their nationalist responsibilities in an indirect manner. They deluged themselves in internal and intrinsic concerns or engaged in inventing external and lateral events or preferred to sit in the negative waiting seats. But none of them, and this is the regrettable thing indeed, has liked to see this real, overt and savage war that is being launched by the United States against the PLO, as the most distinctive feature of this stage with the aim of excluding it from the political formula of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The United States started this war with a diplomatic and political campaign against the PLO in an unprecedented manner and on all fronts. This came only 1 day after President Reagan announced his adherence to his Mideast initiative and his determination to take it further in order to implement

it after suspension of the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue and following King Husayn's refusal to join negotiations. The primary signs of this war declaration stemmed from the statements made by Reagan and his secretary of state George Shultz, who placed the PLO before a lone option, which were either accept the Reagan plan or face the U.S. war with all its local, regional and international dimensions. These primary signs were nothing but a continuation of the series of conspiracies and successive attacks that have been launched by the United States of America against the Palestinian people and their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, since the emergence of the revolution in 1965 and until these attacks reached their apexes when Lebanon was invaded on 4 June 1982.

On the other hand, Reagan did not bring anything new when he warned that the United States was still adhering morally to its peace plan for all peoples of the Middle East. We will not allow the violence and terrorism powers to impose their opposition on the peace process, since the record of consecutive U.S. administrations in full of antagonist positions toward the PLO; they have depicted it as a part of international terrorism.

The United States tested the power of Palestinian reaction to the previous wars which were launched against the Palestinian revolution, yet the United States realizes that the post-Beirut PLO may, on the one hand, have experienced a different situation.

On the other hand, the United States tested the Arab situation and found that in some there were this encouraged it to jump over all the expected considerations of Palestinian confrontation of the Reagan plan. The United States does its utmost to ensure an expanded--if not full--approval of its plan. In this framework, the United States continues its deception through the balance of power in the region in the disfavor of the Arabs.

The only means through which the United States can help the Arabs is this plan since it has no other one plan. Moreover it does not have the capability to do anything that may affect Israel. In this framework, we also have an Arab inclination toward the Reagan plan, and we also have a U.S.-Israeli hard-line stand. The United States feels the gravity of the details which the PLO provides in its explanation of the Reagan plan and feels the scope of its dangers by trying to contain the major abstaining elements in the Arab-Israeli dispute. The United States realizes the dangers of evidence of the Palestinian stance toward the U.S. plan may create in the Arab arena at present or in the future. Despite all that, the United States adheres to this plan as being the only formula for solution. What are the reasons behind this insistence and intransigence?

Does the United States depend on its political, military and material strength alone, or does it depend on its current strategic relations with Israel? Does it depend on the Europe's approval of the U.S. interpretation of its plan? The current situation implies that the United States, while depending on all these factors and insisting on its plan as the only formula for settlement, depends on more important and influential factors: the weak

Arab stand toward the United States, the weak Arab awareness of pan-Arab interests and the inability of Arabs to protect their interests. The United States has enough indications, evidence and guarantees for the Arab situation, a thing which encourages it to be intransigent in its stand. The Reagan plan is the first one by a U.S. president on how to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Arab rejection of this plan is thus far only a verbal one.

As for those who reject this plan, they are consequently unable to provide an alternative; this means they are unable to put forth a plan such as the Fes summit plan because it was initially rejected by the United States. The common denominator among all these is the absence of serious confrontation with the United States, a thing which the United States was assured of. The Arabs were silent with a bewilderment that could accept all interpretations toward the invasion of Lebanon and the siege of Beirut. The Arabs—despite their determination at the Baghdad summit--retreated gradually on the summit's resolutions in favor of an implicit approval of Camp David. Moreover, some of them have declared their readiness to abandon the Fes summit resolutions in favor of the Reagan plan even before the ink which was used in issuing these resolutions became dry. In view of this, the United States considers that it has most of the Arabs in the bag and is confident of continuing to keep them.

The convulsively aggressive U.S. stand on the Palestinian people, their leadership and their sole representative, the PLO, has not been questioned even once by any Arab leader, to the admission of the U.S. presidents themselves. In 1978, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter said no Arab president or king has proposed to him the need to establish a Palestinian state and moreover, none of them had defended this idea to him. When he made these remarks, no Arab official replied to him.

These are the factors of the strong U.S. stand in adhering to the Reagan plan as the only formula for settlement. They are very serious factors since they are factors of U.S. strength, they preclude any factors of Arab strength to counter the Reagan plan. This is what we now see, when Reagan not only wants to prevent the PLO from fulfilling the Palestinian people's goals for return, self-determination and establishing an independent Palestinian state, but also wants to achieve what the U.S.-Israeli conspiracy failed to achieve in Beirut--liquidating the PLO.

The PLO, while being saddened by this precipitating and even bad Arab situation, and while regretting the fact that the Arabs continue to be deceived by the United States, announced on more than one occasion that the Reagan plan does not constitute a sound basis for a durable and just solution for the Palestine issue and Arab-Zionist conflict because the plan, in its policy and content, does not fulfill the Palestinian people's firm national rights and calls on the Arabs to make basic concessions at the expense of these rights, without providing the minimum guarantees to restore the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories to enable our people achieving their right for self-determination on their national soil.

The United States does not determine our destiny. The new U.S. war against the PLO will only make us stronger and more obstinate in our struggle. The U.S. plan is, as Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] described it during his visit to Prague, does not meet the necessities of durable and just peace, and the Soviet initiative and the UN resolutions are more likely to establish a comprehensive, durable and just peace in the region.

It is high time for the Arabs to learn from their experience that weakness leads only to more weakness and defeats and canceling the PLO means canceling all the Arabs, wherein no money, oil or millions of people will avail anything, and that unless the Arabs change their dealings with the United States, talk about a credible U.S. stand in working for durable and just peace in the region will only be deception and conspiracy.

CSO: 4400/522

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

'VOP' CARRIES FILASTIN ATH-THAWRAH' EDITORIAL

GF080733 Aden Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1820 GMT 7 May 83

[Untitled FILASTIN ATH-THAWRAH editorial--date not given]

[Text] Whoever thinks that the U.S. hostile stand against the PLO stems from the U.S. administration's refusal to hold a dialogue with the world's liberation movements and its refusal to recognize the role of armed struggle, violence or terrorism--according to the U.S. terms which alter the world map as suits imperialist interests in the Third World--makes a mistake. Imperialism, as an international phenomena, is the bloody embodiment of violence, sanguine terrorism and a massive war of annihilation. The United States, which has a record full of crimes against the nations of the Middle East, Vietnam and Latin America, turned these nations into an experimentation field for its destructive weapons. The democracy that Washington uses as a slogan is a mask used to cover this inhuman disaster that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America face in the shade of Washington's hegemony as an imperialist superpower on the resources of these three continents.

If the crux of the Middle East conflict has been since the very start between Arab Palestine and American Israel, the practical indication of this conflict has been the indulgence of the U.S. imperialism since the first moment of the eruption of this conflict in war against the Palestinian revolution on all fronts, at all levels and with all means. If Washington did break the strong chain in the confrontation against Israel by undermining the Egyptian-Palestinian alliance, which transformed the northern and eastern confrontation states into a marathon passageway filled with revolutionary powers against Israel and against the United States, the Palestinian revolution had to enter into battles that were imposed on it with the confrontation states due to the submission of these states to the U.S. plots. The Palestinian revolution was steadfast for many years, during which it continued to hold fast to the land on which it stood in confrontation with Israel.

The Palestinian-Israeli war, which continued for 88 days, was 100 percent a war against Washington, which could provide the best international, Arab internal Lebanese conditions to deal its blow Israel, a U.S. protected tool. These introductions continue to be necessary as we consider the recent U.S. statements which claimed that extremism or the extremists in the PLO are

responsible for obstructing the Jordanian-Palestinian talks. The fact is that Washington simplified the conflict, as if it had other than murder, death and annihilation to offer to the Palestinian people. The reason is that the PLO policy knew how to direct the conflict against Washington and its agent, Israel, during the war. Our efforts produced steadfastness on Lebanon's territory and this steadfastness was accompanied by a huge international campaign against Washington.

If Washington is responsible, before Sharon, Begin and Eytan for the Sabra and Shatilla massacres, the Black September in 1970 and the Tal az-Za'tar in 1976, the stark fact is that the PLO did not die in the war, but held steadfast and that the massacres of the Sabra and Shatilla camps, like the previous massacres, did not plant hopelessness in struggle in the heart of our struggling people, but instead created in them determination to achieve victory. Consequently, the opportunity for Washington when we left Beirut through the sea was lost. Kissinger went to his administration and asked that this opportunity be exploited.

The Palestinian weight in the Arab and intrinsic decision did not lose its balance and sink into the sea. Rather, it quickly reached the shore and imbued the land and the Arab decision. Arab moderates, who are so many nowadays, had no alternative but to accept the Palestinian logic in the Fes summit and thus, we again built a strong foundation in the Arab decision which cannot be shaken by this unfathomed U.S. influence.

During the past 6 months, the issue in the Reagan plan was not a hidden camel which we pastured alone, unseen by others around us.

Those who wrote songs in praise of the beauty of the Reagan plan outside the PLO are in fact calling for the U.S. solution. As for our Palestinian language which countered the Reagan plan during the exit from Beirut and the search for foothold on the Arab land from the water, it was mainly directed to those Arabs who like the U.S. administration very much and who are hoping that they will be relieved of the Palestinian headache now that the Palestinian revolution has lost its stronghold in Lebanon.

It is wrong for some people to see the ugly U.S. image without seeing the U.S. ammunition, equipment and arms in the Middle East, not only in the marines or Sharon's army, but also in this Arab situation masked by moderation or false patriotism.

Hence, the Palestinian revolution knew how to stop the Arab panting behind the Reagan plan and behind Washington's capitulatory and enslaving peace in the Middle East.

The conflict between the United States and us, was and will remain on the Arab card and the Arab decision. The United States, which extracted a decision from the Arabs to force us out of Jordan in 1970 and Lebanon in 1976 and which, in 1982, is pursuing us to force us out of the Arab decision committed to the fact that Palestine is an Arab land, that there are

Palestinian people, that Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine and that the independent Palestinian state must be established in Palestine.

Now, what was the result of the battle which followed our exit from Beirut? We can honestly say that the PLO has so far held on to the remnants of the Arab decision and Washington has not succeeded in pressuring the Arabs to openly say that the basis for the conflict with Israel is not the usurped Palestinian rights--for the sake of which the PLO and all the Palestinian peoples are fighting--but is actually some security and border issues between Washington's friends in the Middle East.

Within this classification, Washington is drawing a new equation of control based on the policy of achieving the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. With Shultz' tour, the question is: Are the Arabs required to abandon the Rabat and the Fes resolutions? With all clarity, yes. This is what is required from the Arab regimes if the U.S. role is to stand on its feet and move even one step forward. An example for this is that the PLO is alone and without friends among those who claim to support the Palestinian issue. These people concur with Washington on the central issue, which is preventing the revolution from building its human and military foundation on the land of one of the confrontation countries so as to diminish and decay, as the NEW YORK TIMES hopes. The conflict is now on this issue in particular. Will these regimes remain strong against the revolution to the extent that they will openly prevent the revolution from building its struggle base on the confrontation land? But until when? Shultz came because there is no time and the imaginary chance which they call golden has almost slipped out of their hands and will surely be lost because containing the Palestinian revolution was impossible and will remain impossible, and putting it in a wooden box on the Arab-U.S. negotiations table is more than an impossibility.

Washington is now slandering the PLO and some Arab voices echo this slander. The topic of this slander is, as is known, the Zionist settlement and the fear of expelling hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. The PLO thus, has to exploit the opportunity and give its approval to the renewal of the division of Palestine of 1948 to save what can be saved. This logic clearly serves Washington's interests and those of moderate regimes friendly to the United States and regimes which claim to be revolutionary and agree with it on preventing the revolution from building its main foundation on the land of confrontation. However, this logic does not serve the Palestinian people's interests. Only the revolution's logic, methods of action and tactics on the political and diplomatic levels serve the Palestinians.

What is important is to prevent the renewal of the 1948 equation. What is also important is that the PLO, which is the international identity of the Palestinian issue and the Palestinian people, continues. What Washington seeks is the removal of all factors of Palestinian identity represented by the PLO. We tell all that the PLO is the land, people and issue. The land, people and issue are all the life of the PLO. This cohesion between the people and the PLO is the only way to a near victory despite the heavy price

our people have paid and are still paying. Nevertheless, we want Palestine. Palestine is not a marginal area in this world. It is a nucleus of change in the Middle East and the entire world. In these hard times, the only correct slogan for our masses and the oppressed Arab masses is: All support for the PLO and all salutation for the people holding steadfast in occupied Palestine.

CSO: 4400/522

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO MEMBERS 'EXPULSED' FROM JORDAN

JN041656 Jerusalem in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 4 May 83

[Text] It has been learned from sources in [Palestinian] organizations in Damascus that scores of active PLO members were expelled from Jordan during the weeks following the breakdown in the talks between King Husayn of Jordan and terrorist leader Yasir 'Arafat. Before that, it was said that the Jordanian authorities refused to approve the appointment of 'Izzat Abu ar-Rubb as an official representative of the organization in Amman.

These sources said that this is the background of the urgent consultations between the PLO leaders in Damascus, under the chairmanship of 'Arafat.

The sources added that 'Arafat's urgent dispatch of his adviser Hani al-Hasan to Amman is directly linked with the additional deterioration in the relations between Jordan and the organizations following the breakdown of the talks between the two sides. It was reported that in light of this development, 'Arafat urged his advisers, Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] and Abu al-Hawl [Hayil 'Abd al-Hamid], to discuss the practical possibilities for establishing a secret military infrastructure for the organization in Jordan which could bypass the strict measures which have been taken to safeguard the interest of Jordanian security.

CSO: 4400/522

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

JORDAN RESTRICTS ENTRY OF YOUTHS TO PRESSURE PLO

TA031250 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 3 May 83 p 6

[Text] Palestinian youths from the territories who want to study in or pass through Jordan are now encountering problems, following the Jordanian Government's decision to clamp down on the exodus of youths across the bridges.

A Palestinian source associated with the Jordanian authorities said yesterday that this step was being taken in an effort to persuade the PLO to accept Jordan's terms and join the negotiations with Israel on the basis of the Reagan plan.

The source, who asked to remain anonymous, made it clear that Jordan is not planning to completely close the bridges, and that the next step has already been planned. That will involve the application of pressure on businessmen until the inhabitants "cry to the heavens" and the PLO members reassess their policy.

A source in the territories associated with the PLO said yesterday that youths who want to study in Jordan are now being told to sign a declaration to the effect that they will not stay more than 9 months in Jordan. In contrast, the Israeli Government demands that the students stay abroad at least 9 months. In addition, the students have been barred from working in Jordan and they are required to produce a certificate attesting that they have no criminal record.

An Israeli military source reported yesterday evening that since the beginning of the week, the Jordanian authorities have rejected requests by 30 youths to enter the country. Usually, some 2,000 people seek to cross the bridges daily.

CSO: 4400/522

KING SA'UD UNIVERSITY STUDENTS EXPRESS VIEWS ON EDUCATION, COLLEGE LIFE

Dammam AL-YAWM in Arabic 3 Apr 83 p 7

[Interview with King Sa'ud University students by Tariq Ibrahim Ja'far:
"Personal Dialogue With Students; How Do Students Live Their College Life and
What Are Their Problems, Thoughts and Aspirations"]

[Text] The housing facility of the King Sa'ud University in Riyadh is located
on the Riyadh-al-Dar'iyah road.

The facility is a group of modern buildings that stand tall in that spacious
spot which is remote from the capital's clamor, traffic, the disturbing noise
of vehicles and other distractions that annoy students and deprive them of the
convenience and comfort of the academic atmosphere.

University housing accommodates nearly 7,500 students of various nationalities,
ages, colleges and specializations. Each has a long story that he carries
within himself--a mixture of childhood memories, hopes, pains and dreams and
of other feelings that the student carries in himself.

We decided to storm the walls of this housing complex and, consequently, enter
into the soul of each student to find out some details of his private life, his
financial and social situation, his emotions and problems, his needs and
hobbies, his views and opinions on some social issues and his views on a
number of political issues that affect the Arab world and the Islamic nation.

We have chosen the students interviewed at random. We have also tried to have
this sample represent all levels of the university. We knocked on the doors
and entered the rooms to familiarize ourselves with their occupants and with
what they had on their minds. They received us with smiles and talked to us
patiently and openly. We also knocked on some doors without any prior
appointment and saw some very interesting scenes in the life of these students.
Some were busy doing their laundry, others cleaning and tidying up their rooms
and others preparing coffee and tea in preparation for a study session or for
a chat with their colleagues. Some students were busy reading newspapers and
magazines. This provided us with a number of beautiful pictures of the
university student's life.

We are not accustomed to seeing such sights. But it seems that separation from
home, whether psychological separation or separation from the family, has had a

major role in forming the college student's behavior. Some students told us they did not know how to do their laundry or to make tea or coffee. But upon coming to Riyadh to study and upon being separated from his family, the student has been compelled to learn all these necessary things to serve himself. Yes, separation from the house, in both its parts, is life in every sense of the word. Having mentioned separation from home, we have found that because of this separation and of what they suffer from it, some students have found no way to relieve this suffering other than letters and words. We had thought that some students would answer our questions briefly but were surprised to find this vast amount of information and these numerous thoughts which, if indicating anything, indicate the learning, awareness and alertness in the minds of these students.

Student Muhammad Sa'id 'Ayish al-Qahtani, a junior specializing in public administration at the Administrative Sciences College, spoke at length, with utter frankness and in strong terms about the university student, saying:

Our universities embrace a large number of the youth of this good country, which pins broad hopes on them to perform the national duty thrown on their shoulders. But on the basis of my experience and my mixing with many of these students, I have found that there are among them types that have nothing to do with education. They have no general education and they are indifferent to the value of things. To such a student, it is as if nothing is important. All he cares about is his external appearance, trying to get the latest model car and to keep up with the soccer news, which preoccupies the minds of many of our youth and diverts their attention from developments in science, in its various branches, and in society. This type of student has become a burden to society, taking without giving.

Muhammad adds: The state of this type of student is deplorable. He is considered a part of society, whereas there is a severe separation between the student and the university and between the disciplines he learns at college and the society he lives in, meaning that the interaction between these three changing elements (the student, the society and the university) is nonexistent insofar as some students are concerned. This type of student remains hostage to a book or a notebook, which he reads at examination time and then discards and forgets all about. This student's sole concern is to pass in any way and by whatever means at the expense of earning and education. Consequently, the desired benefit from earning and education is lost. It is as if a college degree becomes the end and not the means. A person does not attain perfection merely by acquiring a college degree. On the contrary, when you sit with some common people and discuss things with them, you find that they have a general background and knowledge and a high level of awareness and maturity, unlike some students who have remained hostage to their specialization. There is also the total separation between the student and the society in which he lives. His participation in society's activities and his awareness of its problems and contributions to finding solutions to these problems are nonexistent. It is as if this student is responsible for nothing other than his studies. We thus find a large gap between these changing elements which, collectively, achieve the goal for which the university is founded.

Asked about the secret behind this isolationism and about the student's retreat into himself and his curriculum, which he forgets as soon as the examinations

are over, student Muhammad al-Qahtani said:

The secret behind the shortcomings you have mentioned and which affect some students does not go beyond the following: First, the financial prosperity of some students affects their interest in education in accordance with their thinking and their mentality. Some students guarantee their future on the shoulders of their fathers. Some of these students say: I need not tire myself as long as I have assets in money, buildings and other luxuries. This is the most serious problem facing some students.

Second, viewing the college degree from a narrow perspective as something that assures them a praiseworthy "social" status and makes it possible for them to be referred to as university students or university graduates, even if they do not benefit at all from their studies and their specialization.

Third, the academic program's inability to establish a strong relationship and a real interaction with society. Some programs are not needed and do not merit someone with a doctorate to teach them. Moreover, they are totally remote from the student's aspirations and interest and are unrelated to society. I exclude here the colleges teaching scientific disciplines.

Fourth, isolationism and the shunning of reading while seeking the fun that produces no positive yield and is a waste of time.

Student Ahmad Muhammad al-Malla, senior in the sociology branch of the School of Arts:

We entered his room, which was untidy and filled with books and papers scattered everywhere. Hanging on one wall was the picture of a Palestinian child raising his hand with the victory sign.

Speaking about himself, Ahmad al-Malla said:

I have chosen sociology because the information branch was crowded during registration time and I was in a hurry to get back to al-Ahsa'.

When I came to Riyadh, it was not out of love for continuing the educational journey in the real sense of the word because at the time I was not sufficiently aware of the importance of education. The prevalent idea in my mind was to get a college degree in order to get a job with it. I was, God be thanked, in good financial condition and so did not have any material motive for studying. My motive was not so much material as it was to seek new ways of life and discover things of which I had been unaware. There also was the motive of becoming independent and relying on myself.

[Question] How did Ahmad al-Malla become a poet?

[Al-Malla] To put it very modestly, I don't deserve the name of poet yet, even though many of the kingdom's well-known and prominent poets have called me so. As for how, I have been reading poetry since my childhood. My extensive reading of poetry and of literature generally for so long created a love of poetry in me. I remember that in junior high school I used to read Abu Zayd al-Hilali's

poems in the classroom while the teacher was explaining chemistry. Hardly a day passes without my reading some poetry, even if I have a test on the following day. When I came to Riyadh, I began to suffer psychologically as a result of separation from home and emotional sterility, being remote from the family, loved ones and friends. I began to feel remote from the lofty and generous date palm and from the shore with its waves. In that period, I could find nothing other than letters and words to burden with my unhappiness and my suffering and those words flowed in the form of verses. This is how I started with poetry in 1398 of the Hegira.

So far, I have more than 20 poems, most of them published in AL-JAZIRAH, some in AL-YAWM and AL-RIYAD. The Sudanese AL-AYYAM has also published a number of my poems.

I am fond of the poetry of Badr Shakir al-Sayyab, of Dr 'Imad al-Din Khalil, of Nazar Qabbani and of Elia Abu Madi. As for the kingdom's poets, I am fond of the poetry of 'Abdallah al-Saykhan, who epitomizes free verse in the country.

It is a wish and a call from the heart that a literary club will be founded in the Eastern Province, which abounds with men of letters.

I heard once that Ahmad al-Jasir and our other men of letters are calling for the establishment of literary coffee shop. I hope this will materialize so that I can work as a "waiter" in this coffee shop.

There are groups of youth that are hollow and that have become a burden to society. Whatever is said, there is a crisis stemming from certain conditions generated in society. This group is hollow and has lost feeling for and awareness of many issues that are important and beneficial to society. The reason is the material wealth that these youth enjoy and that had dominated all that is expected of them. Our youth have become pampered and they readily get what they want without trouble. Consequently, they don't need to think and be active, to work and produce. Because my mother is in poor health, we have been compelled to employ a maid, nothing else. As for the many foreign chauffeurs, their presence is due to the prosperity, imitation and ostentation. Many do not need these chauffeurs. It is my hope that today's and tomorrow's youth will eliminate these negative manifestations.

I do not read much on politics. As one political editor has said, the covers of our Arab magazines and the main articles in all our Arab papers have been political covers and articles for more than 30 years. Yet, nobody has embraced our opinion, we have not felt any change or response to what we write and the issue is still pending.

Muhammad Ibrahim al-Mulhim, a 19-year-old freshman in the physics branch of the School of Sciences:

The childhood stage is, for me and for every human being, a stage rich with memories. When one recalls that stage, he feels happy and dreams of returning to childhood days with all their spontaneous simplicity. Perhaps what I can remember or tell about my childhood is, according to what my mother has told me,

that I was such a mischievous child that I broke my arm one day falling from a house window. Academically, I was not a good student in elementary school, contrary to the following stages when I was always one of the three top students in my class up to the university, when I was registered and exempted from the intensive English course as a result of my record in this language.

When I completed junior high school, I selected the scientific branch out of my strong desire to fulfill my wish to study science. I must make an observation here regarding our youth, the students, namely, that many of them regrettably, are influenced by the opinions of their colleagues in selecting their specialization, without making any effort to determine their academic tendencies and their mental capabilities. Consequently, this is reflected in their academic record and even affects their educational future. This is a big mistake, which many of the students make.

The standard of our university student is, God be thanked, good and there are many students who struggle and strive to get a good education and who have great hopes to continue their higher studies. On the other hand, there is a percentage of students with a shallow educational standard. When you study the behavior of one of these students and become familiar with his concept of life and with his education and knowledge, you find that he has nothing. It is as if these students take up university courses just to pass and not to benefit from them. To tell the truth, what I fault my brother students for is their shunning of reading. We also find that the behavior of a small minority of students does not reflect that of even an elementary school student. Awareness and feeling are the basis. The lack of awareness and feeling among these students and their clinging to childish behavior and language, despite their being university students, make them incapable of understanding the duty expected of them. They have disappointed the hopes of those who place them with the educated class that is aware of its role toward society, religion and country. From my viewpoint, I believe that the student who enters university must turn a new leaf because this stage is a focal point for his future. He must be careful with every moment of his academic life and must be eager to benefit from every such moment to develop his education and intellect with all that is beneficial, be it scientific or social, so that he will later be qualified and capable of shouldering responsibilities, especially in educational and moral matters, because he will have an important role in raising a new generation.

Student Muzyid Sa'ud al-Subay'i, senior in the information branch of the School of Arts:

The happiest moment of my life was when I graduated from high school, the arts branch, with good marks qualifying me to enroll in the Petroleum and Minerals University in Dhahran. I was accepted by and registered at the university. Afterwards, a friend told me that studies at this university are difficult and that students have to take scientific courses, such as physics and chemistry. So I changed my mind about studying there, especially since I had enrolled in the arts branch to escape physics and related courses. Consequently, I faced an embarrassing situation with my family. I had to continue my studies, out

of my desire and theirs. But at the same time, I did not want to leave my province and move away from my family. This is a problem that all of us, as students here, face.

We still suffer from family bonds, Finally, I decided to go to Riyadh and register at its information branch. Thereafter, I suffered strongly from psychological separation and from other problems until I was able to adapt to the city with its atmosphere and its studies. God be thanked, I am now a senior and about to graduate.

I have a personal confession to make. We students, and I am one of them, want to have things easy without hardship or struggle. We always complain about the professor when he asks us to do research or to read more references. We always want to pass without effort or studying. The only thing we know about the library is its location and we only refer to the books at examination time. This does not, of course, apply to all but rather to a small percentage. I believe that the reason for our grumbling about books and reading is the fact that we have not been accustomed to them since childhood. As for newspapers, I read them constantly and in all areas, I also keep up with television news and programs.

The happiest moments of my life are those when I feel that I have been able to repay the good deeds of my parents, who have surrounded me with love and happiness at all stages of my life.

Student 'Ali Sa'id al-Bu'aynayn, senior in the information branch of the School of Arts:

I enrolled in the information branch out of my own desire and inclination, and I have specialized in public relations because it is considered a new field. I feel that my study of this specialization will help me upon graduation to work in the public relations departments that are in the direst need of specialists, especially since the role of public relations has become an important role at present.

My first goal after graduating from high school was to enroll in the Petroleum and Minerals University in Dhahran. I did actually register at the university but the difficulty of mathematics stood as a stumbling block in the way of my aspirations, considering that I am a graduate of the arts branch [of high school]. Even though I had not previously thought of coming to Riyadh, I found myself compelled to do so in order to continue my education.

Frankly, I have liked housework since childhood and I used to help my mother with a lot of the housework. Let me say, frankly, that I cook a lot of dishes at home and that I am good at turning out al-muhammar, al-badanyush, maccaroni and al-haris and that during Ramadan I help my mother prepare the fast-breaking meal and al-luqaymat and other dishes. I do all this out of love for my mother and not because it is imposed on me. I even do my own laundry and don't leave it for my mother to do. I even took care of my younger brothers, serving them, bathing them and putting them to bed, warming their milk, putting it in their bottles and giving it to them. I did this until I came to Riyadh. Since then, I have relied on myself and on the help of some student friends, especially with certain dishes.

Personally, I am not studying simply for the sake of a degree but to gain knowledge and an education. Whoever studies for the degree alone is a narrow-minded person. We live in an age about which the least that can be said is that it is the age of the explosion of information and of the emergence of the fruits of thought. The fundamental thing is not the degree but acquiring an education. Let me say here without boasting that since I began studying, I study a subject to understand and absorb it and to benefit from it. I don't study just to pass. Logically, if a person leaves his family and his loved ones, and at times even his country, to come here just to pass in any way possible, then he is mentally deficient because today's man is not measured by his position or degree but by his learning, his knowledge, his intellect and his education. There are many whom you may admire when you hear that they have acquired their doctorate or some such high degree, but when you meet them you find that they have nothing--no learning and no education and only degrees acquired God knows how. On the other hand, there are those who have not had an adequate formal education or acquired a higher degree but who have high-level knowledge and ideas in their heads, all through personal efforts and reading. As for the material conditions pertaining in the kingdom, this is nothing to be ashamed of and is rather a blessing from God. But what is disgraceful is for our youth to boast of the cars and appearances that have come with the material upsurge at the expense of education, though and efforts exerted in the service of society. There must be a balance between the material and the intellectual because the progress of nations is measured by intellect and science and when this balance is upset, a cultural gap develops, as has happened in Britain. But God be thanked, a large percentage of our youth here has come to really study. They are serious, diligent and strive to get a better education.

College life and remoteness from the family have taught us students a great deal. Now, all the students do their own laundry, some cook tasty dishes, clean their rooms, make their tea, press their clothes and do other chores for which we used to depend on our family or on maids.

Al-'Ayyadi Muhammad al-Maghribi, a student from Marrakesh, Morocco:

His room was impeccably neat and its walls were adorned with pictures of scenery:

The first Arab country I have been to is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. I have visited France, Britain, Switzerland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

When I came to Saudi Arabia, I encountered no problems insofar as the dialect is concerned. But before coming here, I had the impression that Hejaz [Saudi Arabia] and the Arab Gulf spoke classical Arabic more extensively. This is what they said in Morocco. They also said that the people of the Arab East speak classical Arabic more than the people of the Arab Maghreb. But I have found the opposite to be true. In Morocco and Tunisia, I find that most of the writers and men of letters are interested in classical Arabic and the people there adhere to the grammatical rules of the language, whereas here the colloquial is predominant.

I believe that the university should be a means for the student to gain greater knowledge and education. The academic system here follows set hours and a

specific program for the student's studies. It is better for the teacher's to be that of guidance while the student undertakes the research and the reading so that the benefit will be greater and so that the student has the opportunity to depend on himself and to become accustomed to persistent research. It is certain that this system compels the student to read, that its benefit is greater and that the information thus gained is more deeply ingrained.

In the university housing, I have noticed that the various nationalities are reserved toward each other and that there is no interaction or bond among the students. I believe that the university must organize seminars and lectures in which the students meet to introduce themselves and their countries. Culture varies from country to country. In fact, as a Moroccan, I say that our information media have not given us a realistic picture of Saudi society. This is a shortcoming on the part of the media. I have gained this picture from the Saudi students and from my contacts with some of the Gulf students who have familiarized me with the heritage, traditions and customs of the Gulf area. Some Gulf brothers once said to me that Morocco is a part of Europe, that is was under French colonialism and that this means that it has drifted away from the spirit of Islam and from Arab culture. I don't blame them for this misconception because we in Morocco have not tried to emphasize our Islamic and Arab culture and to familiarize others with what we have through the media. Even cultural cooperation between Morocco and the Arab countries was nonexistent. Moreover, cultural cooperation between Morocco and Saudi Arabia, for example, began just 3 years ago.

The truth is that it is difficult for me to define my impression of the Saudi student because I have been in contact with him for only a short period and because, as I have already pointed out, we had no historical knowledge of Saudi society before coming here. Therefore, it is difficult for me to make a judgment. However, what I have noticed in this short period is that like the students of any other country, there are the good and the no-good among the Saudi students. But the presence of seven universities in the kingdom, in addition to the specialized institutes and colleges that are spread throughout the country, is an indication of the scientific renaissance being witnessed by the kingdom. Consequently, this shows the interest of Saudi youth in science and education. But what I want to say is that the student must be given the opportunity to conduct his own research without being tied to a set program so that he can obtain a better education.

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POTENTIAL OF GOLD, SILVER, COPPER MINES DISCUSSED

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 7 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Muhammad Mahjub: "Prior to King's Historic Visit, 'UKAZ Tours Mahd al-Dhahab by Helicopters"]

[Text] Amidst a deluge of feelings of love, support and loyalty, Mahd al-Dhahab area has been preparing to receive His Redeemed Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz on the visit he will make to the area on the opening of Mahd al-Dhahab mine, considered one of the most significant accomplishments of the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources in recent years in the sphere of prospecting for the enormous mineral wealth proven to exist in the kingdom by various studies and concerted prospecting operations.

'UKAZ decided that it had to share the joy of the citizens of Mahd al-Dhahab area and of all the kingdom's citizens with this great event and keep pace with the blessed procession of abundance led by his majesty the redeemed king. The paper went to Ghazi Sultan, undersecretary in the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, who supplied 'UKAZ with a ministry helicopter for a tour of various parts of Mahd al-Dhahab area and for familiarization with aspects of this great work in which the ministry and its specialized agencies have been engaged for numerous years.

Before beginning the tour, 'UKAZ interviewed Ghazi Sultan, who shed light on this major project from the start of work up to the present and on the various strides made by the prospecting operations, on economic feasibility and on future potential for the quantities of gold the mining operations will produce.

[Question] Our first question to Ghazi Sultan had to do with the history of Mahd al-Dhahab.

Mahd al-Dhahab in History

[Answer] It is believed that Mahd al-Dhahab is located on an ancient route used by caravans traveling between the Mediterranean Sea and Hadhramaut and that this location led to the discovery of its gold in ancient times.

It is likely that mining operations started 3,000 years ago and were resumed 1,000 years later. Mining was carried out on a large scale, even by today's

standards. The ancient mining operations left behind huge heaps of rock waste estimated at 400,000-1,000,000 tons.

[Question] What about the quantities produced in that period?

[Answer] There are no records of production quantities in that period. But we can estimate from the size of the work carried out and the discards that production could have amounted to 40 tons of gold and silver.

23 Tons From Leftovers of Old Mine

[Question] When were mining operations resumed in Mahd al-Dhahab mine?

[Answer] The period from 1939-54 witnessed resumption of the mining operations for the third time by the Saudi Mining Company and a total of 23 tons of gold and 31 tons of silver, extracted mainly from the leftovers of the ancient mining operations, were produced in this period. But the company also employed the means of surface and deep mining to obtain new ore.

[Question] Why was the mine closed despite its economic importance?

[Answer] With the onset of 1954, the best ore veins had been mined and the mine was closed because of the drop in the quality of the ore on the one hand and rising production costs on the other. The company did prospect in the area surrounding the ancient mine but these efforts were unsuccessful.

Large Quantities of Gold

[Question] Have the search and prospecting operations been halted since then?

[Answer] Of course not. During the first 5-year plan, the General Mineral Resources Directorate entrusted a U.S. geological team with resurveying Mahd al-Dhahab area and conducting careful tests on it to determine the spots where the ore deposits are located. The careful maps drawn up show that the area's geology indicates the presence of other areas similar to the area where gold was mined in the past. These areas are located 700 meters south of the old mine and the test holes drilled in this area have proven the correctness of this geological potential, with signs indicating the presence of an abundant and high-quality volume of gold ore.

Start of Prospecting Operations

[Question] When did actual prospecting operations start?

[Answer] In 1976, the Mahd al-Dhahab Joint-Stock Company was licensed to prospect for gold in Mahd al-Dhahab area. This company conducted concerted survey and prospecting operations, which culminated in 1978 with the preparation of an economic feasibility study on the economic and profitable exploitability of a mine in the mining area discovered within the framework of the programs implemented by the General Mineral Resources Directorate.

The preparation of a complete feasibility study depended on carrying out the deep drilling operations to extract sufficient samples and subject them to the necessary tests.

In this period, the General Petroleum and Minerals Agency (Petromin) agreed to go into partnership with the Gold Fields Company and to share the drilling costs with this company (including the costs of drilling tunnels with a total length of 1,160 meters and other drilling operations totaling 15,438 meters). All this work was completed by the end of 1980.

Petromin Owns Mahd al-Dahahab

[Question] When did the mine ownership revert to Petromin?

[Answer] The developments cropping up since February 1980 have speeded up this step, especially when an Anglo-American individual called (de Beers) gained ownership of 25 percent of the Gold Fields Company. This made continued ownership of the mining concession by the company a violation of the boycott-of-Israel regulations.

Consequently, negotiations were conducted with the Gold Fields Company, and they resulted in Petromin's full ownership of Mahd al-Dahahab mine. A preliminary contract has been concluded with the company to undertake only the management and development of the mine.

\$118.5 Million in Investments

[Question] What results have the economic feasibility studies had on the economic utilization of the mine?

[Answer] The main economic feasibility study concerning the mine was completed in December 1980, and this study has been reviewed several times with the aim of bringing it up to date.

A new study prepared by Petromin in this regard estimates the capital need to be invested in the mine at \$109,900,000 (including 5 percent allocated for emergency expenditures) for a period of 3 years, during which 400 tons [of ore-bearing rock] are mined daily.

The said study has also estimated the operational capital at \$8.6 million.

Based on the said average total sum of \$118,500,000 the yield will range from 2.96 percent (on the basis of a price of \$450 per ounce and 7.8 years to cover costs) to 21.79 percent (on the basis of a price of \$650 per ounce and a period of 2.9 years to cover costs).

As for silver prices, they range from \$10-\$13 per ounce. It is assumed that the price of copper will remain constant at \$1 per pound.

When calculating the cost of the operations, consideration was given to allocating 6 percent to the (carbonization) factor. But there has been no

inflation in the revenue rates. This has led to a constant decline in the annual liquidity. For example, the annual liquidity flow will drop from \$24.9 million in the first operational year to \$10.01 in the ninth operational year (on the basis of a price of \$500 per ounce of gold and \$10 per ounce of silver) Paragraph as published.

[Question] What steps are being taken to put the mine into operation?

[Answer] Petromin had prepared a large-scale program of which it has implemented important steps insofar as building the mine is concerned. These steps include preparation of the blueprints needed to construct the work camp and the systems for supplying water and coal.

The relevant documents are being gathered preparatory to bidding. The cost of these preparations will be included in a later report to be made after the bids are received.

30 Tons of Gold Daily [sic]

[Question] Concluding its interview, 'UKAZ asked Ghazi Sultan if it is possible to predict the date on which the mine will go into operation and the mine's likely production capacity.

[Answer] His excellency said that if the necessary approval is received, the mine can be operated at a capacity of 400 tons (per mining day) by 1986 to produce 30 tons of gold, 90 tons of silver, 8,000 tons of copper and 27,000 tons of zinc in 10 years.

To Mahd al-Dhahab by Helicopter

Following the interview, the 'UKAZ team, including colleague Muhammad Mahjub and 'UKAZ photographer Husayn Qannu', boarded the helicopter, accompanied by Muhammad Bahaori, director of the concessions office at the General Mineral Resources Directorate, which took them to Mahd al-Dhahab area.

From the air, 'UKAZ lenses recorded the features of this major edifice around which a vast network of modern buildings have risen--evidence of the major efforts exerted to develop this part of the kingdom to enable it to keep pace with this major event.

The helicopter first took the 'UKAZ team to the old mine in which work was halted in 1954 because of high production costs. The site still has some of the equipment used in the first mining operations carried out there.

The team then took a tour inside the new Mahd al-Dhahab mine, which is located nearly 700 meters from the old one.

500 Meters Inside Mine

Muhammad Bahabri noted that the geological surveys and studies conducted by the General Mineral Resources Directorate had indicated the presence of abundant gold deposits in the mine, adding that the Gold Fields Company, which was

granted a prospecting permit in 1976, had conducted studies over a period of 3 years that had proven the economic feasibility of utilizing the mine. This motivated Petromin to apply for prospecting with the company in 1978. In 1980, negotiations began between the company and Petromin over Petromin's acquisition of total ownership of the mine. At the end of 1982, the negotiations ended with mine ownership turned over to the state.

Bahabri also said that drilling operations have extended 500 meters inside the mine so far, adding that ceaseless efforts are being exerted to receive His Redeemed Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.

Latest Drill in World

After a nearly 1 hour tour inside the new Mahd al-Dhahab mine, the 'UKAZ team proceeded to inspect the latest drill in the world and the first of its kind to operate in mining activities in the kingdom. This drill is located 300 meters from the mine.

The technical official in charge of the project explained to the team how the drill operates. The drill penetrates transversely with an opening of 20 centimeters and a pressure of 30 feet per hour until it enters the mine where a large steel bit containing a diamond is attached to it. The diamond breaks the rock very efficiently by virtue of its hardness and its ability to penetrate the hardest rocks.

The drill operates with a propulsion force of 200 tons and opens a 6-foot-wide hole in the rock.

The work at Mahd al-Dhahab mine is proceeding rapidly and precisely. Each individual has his role, which complements the work of the others. It is a complete working beehive whose dimensions are commensurate with the dimensions of this great accomplishment.

In Jabal Sa'id

'UKAZ then continued its tour to examine the features of another of the kingdom's accomplishments in the sphere of exploration and prospecting for the mineral treasures with which the kingdom abounds. The second tour covered Jabal Sa'id, where the most important and modern of the kingdom's copper mines are located. Jabal Sa'id is 350 kilometers northeast of Jiddah and 180 kilometers southeast of Medina.

The prospecting and drilling operations began under the supervision of the ministry's General Mineral Resources Directorate, which had prepared the plan for prospecting under the mountain's surface in 1386 of the Hegira.

In the year 1400 of the Heigira, two contracts were concluded between the ministry's General Mineral Resources Directorate and the Joint-Stock Red Sea Mining Company to drill curing and transverse sections in accordance with the bid specifications.

Later, the Red Sea Company concluded a technical agreement with the (Poliden) Firm to start work at the project.

First Explosion in Mountain

In 1401-1402 of the Hegira, a work camp was set up at the site and the necessary mining equipment was supplied (the first explosive charges detonated in the mountain on 16 Dhu al-Hijjah 1401 of the Hegira signaled the start of work on this major project).

During its tour of Jabal Sa'id, 'UKAZ learned that the prospecting activities will be carried out on ore deposit sites No 1 and No 2, which are considered the two main sites containing large quantities of copper ore in the mine.

Four Copper Deposit Sites

The 'UKAZ team also learned that at the beginning of the next month of Rajab, work will be completed on the road leading to the mine and that prospecting operations will then begin in ore deposit site No 4.

Underground drilling operations in Jabal Sa'id mine are scheduled to be completed in the month of Safar next year. The project's economic feasibility studies will be then carried out and a unit for ore concentration will be designed and completed by the year 1405 of the Hegira.

The length of the underground tunnel is 2,000 meters and terminates at ore deposit site No 4, which is 300 meters below the surface. The mine [presumably meaning tunnel] is 5 meters wide and 3.85 meters high.

A dual hydraulic drill, considered one of the latest drilling machines in the world, is used at the mine.

The total copper ore deposits at site No 1 are estimated at 7 million tons with 1.7 percent copper and 1.1 percent zinc.

The deposits at sites No 2 and No 3 are estimated at 20 million tons, containing nearly 2 percent copper.

In site No 4, the deposits are estimated at 18 million tons, containing nearly 2 percent copper.

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SAUDI ARABIA

BRIEFS

NEW PRESS RULES--Abu Dhabi, 21 Apr (GNA)--Dr Muhammad 'Abdu Yamani, Saudi information minister, has reiterated the Kingdom's keenness in preserving the independence of the Palestinian decision and its support for the Palestinians to resolve their cause in a way they deem appropriate and for their right for self-determination. In a statement to today's issue of the Abu Dhabi-based newspaper AL-WAHDAH, the Saudi information minister expressed Saudi Arabia's continued readiness to unify the word and remove the Jordanian-Palestinian differences. The Saudi information minister announced that new measures will be taken shortly on the freedom of the press and to facilitate movement of Arab journalists working in the GCC countries from one country to another, noting that these measures are only pending endorsements. This is to encourage more flexibility in press work to serve the region's issues. [Text]
[GF211210 Doha GNA in Arabic 0820 GMT 21 Apr 83]

CSO: 4400/313

BRIEFS

NATIONAL SERVICE LAW AMENDED--Legislative Decree No. 282 has been issued including amendments to the National Service Law, which was promulgated some 30 years ago under Legislative Decree No. 115 of 1953. The amendments specify, organize and facilitate the methods of communication between those subject to service in the reserve and the recruitment branches and simplify the methods of contacting those subject national service either inside or outside the country. The amendments introduced to the National Service Law explain the methods which the reservists must pursue in organizing their relationship with their recruitment branches during their service in the reserve after they have completed their compulsory service. The purpose of these amendments is to fill the loopholes in the old National Service Law, loopholes which sometimes resulted in certain citizens being punished under the penal code due to over-complicated methods of communication, ignorance of the law, or sheer negligence. Legislative Decree No. 9 of 1983 has also been issued amending the provisions of the National Service Law concerning the punishment of those contravening this law. Tomorrow's papers will publish the full texts of these two decrees. [Text] [JN011926 Damascus Domestic Television Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 1 May 83]

CSO: 4400/523

GOVERNORS' ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CENTER REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Apr 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 11.

After the conclusion of their annual conference, most of the Governors are staying on in Delhi for another day or two to have separate meetings with the Prime Minister, Home Minister and other senior Central Ministers for talks on the political and economic situation in their respective States.

The Governors of Congress (I)-ruled States are reported to be generally of the view that the political instability in their States was created more by the dissident activities of rival factions within the ruling party rather than the fragmented Opposition groups which were in no position to pose any serious threat by themselves.

Their advice to Mrs. Gandhi was that, unless she took strong steps to enforce party discipline, the Congress (I)-ruled States would continue to be rocked by recurring squabbles thereby eroding the authority as well as the prestige of their Governments. The big majorities of the ruling party in these States had not provided for stability, since those in power had to constantly contend with the intrigues of their own disgruntled colleagues, instead of counting on their support in running the administration.

Different story: But the Governors of non-Congress (I) States had a different story to tell about how their Governments were coping with an altogether different set of challenges. Though the ruling parties in these States were relatively more united and coherent with better standards of discipline, the tendency to blame the Centre for everything was undermining their own credibility, leading in turn to different kinds of disillusionment in the wake of their inability to keep up with the rising expectations of the people.

The marxist Government in West Bengal, which has certainly set a good administrative record, has been accusing the Centre of mishandling the situation in Assam and misjudging the mood of the people in the entire North-East region. The Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, on the other hand, has been raising the bogey of too much Central interference

with an eye on the forthcoming Assembly elections in his State.

But the Governors of the Southern States are reported to have given a somewhat different picture, without taking too gloomy a view of the new regional sentiment generated by the recent Congress (I) debacle there. The Central leaders were told that there was no deep motivation behind the creation of a Southern Council other than the establishment of a joint forum for articulating their views on matters of common interest.

The Chief Ministers met, it was pointed out, primarily to discuss the desirability of presenting a joint memorandum to the Finance Commission. The suggestion was mooted, as a logical follow-up of this move, that they should also press for a fiscal commission. The idea of setting up the Southern Council was not part of any pre-meditated plan to embarrass the Centre, but a decision taken at the last moment to dramatise this new mood of regional cooperation.

Centre's suspicion: But the Centre is inclined to suspect something deeper behind this move, since it reflected in a different form the growing sub-national pulls and pressures that were threatening to undermine the very basis of India's unity and integrity as in Punjab and Assam. It is a trend that needed to be watched carefully before arriving at a final conclusion about its motivations as well as ramifications.

The Governors of both Congress (I) and non-Congress (I) ruled States complained with varying degrees of vehemence about the inadequacy of Central grants for drought relief in their areas, the shortages in the availability of essential commodities and the bottlenecks in the public distribution system. They felt that with better coordination between the Centre and the States, it should not be difficult to deal with such problems.

There were complaints about the falling standards of administration, the inability of State Governments to articulate their views effectively and reasonably in securing not only

their due share of revenues but also a fair payment of royalties for their mineral resources. They stressed the need for improvement in the quality of administration at the district level, especially in the developmental sphere.

The Governors voiced their satisfaction with the over-all law and order situation, despite what was happening in Punjab and Assam. But a note of warning was also sounded about the dangers of a revival of naxalite activity, especially by the Lin Piao faction, in the North-East region by taking advantage of the disturbed conditions there.

CSO: 4600/1035

SYRIAN MINISTER DEFINES MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS 'EXPLOSIVE'

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 May 83 p 18

[Interview with Syrian Minister of Information Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad by KEYHAN in Damascus; date not specified]

[Text] The situation in the region is more explosive than ever.

U.S. imperialism provides the grounds for its expansionist policies in the Middle East by giving advanced arms to the Zionist regime.

Now we realize that the scent of war prevails everywhere and it seems that with every hour we are approaching war.

The issue in the Middle East is the surrender of the Arabs and not peace and we will fight it with all our might.

We love peace but we will not surrender even should it cost us the martyrdom of everyone.

The policy of the United States is to openly support the filthy acts of Israel in the region.

Syria will not surrender one inch of the occupied Arab lands and no power can make Syria change this position.

Reagan's plan for the Middle East was doomed from its inception because it denies the realities and now it is rapidly reaching a deadlock.

The aim of Reagan's plan is to stabilize U.S. domination and Israeli military domination in the region.

Some Arab leaders whose sincerity is in doubt intend to help Israel and the United States.

Damascus, KEYHAN: "Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad," the Syrian minister of information, explained the Syrian position regarding the recent changes in the region in an exclusive interview with KEYHAN. In this interview, he defined the situation of the region as more explosive than ever before and said that U.S. imperialism provides the grounds for the expansionist policies of Israel by giving advanced arms to the Zionist regime. He said that with Egypt out of the Arab front, the United States has found the opportunity to express the epitome of its inhumane policies and take practical steps towards them.

In this exclusive interview, the Syrian minister of information stressed that the Zionist regime follows the Nazi ideas of the Germans in World War II and that this regime and the Zionist parties do not want peace in the region. Emphasizing that Syria will not retreat from its positions under any circumstances and that no power in the world is able to make this country alter its basic positions, he said that peace will only be possible when the Zionist regime retreats from all the occupied Arab lands and Jerusalem and respects the indisputable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent government under the leadership of the PLO.

Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad stressed in his interview with KEYHAN that in the next war, the Zionists will pay dearly. In response to the question by KEYHAN of whether the visit of the U.S. secretary of state to Syria will mean a modification of policies in that country, he said: We will only explain our positions and will not deviate from them. In another part of the interview, he emphasized that Syria will not surrender an inch of the occupied lands. Then, he said that he considered the Reagan plan a denial of the realities and said that it was doomed from its inception and is now rapidly approaching a deadlock. Declaring that the Reagan plan is similar to that of (Igar Alon), he said that the aim of this plan is to

stabilize U.S. domination and Israeli military domination in the region. The Syrian minister of information also regretted that some of the Arab leaders are helping the United States and Israel to achieve their objectives.

What follows is the complete text of the exclusive interview of KEYHAN with the Syrian minister of information in Damascus.

"Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad," responding to whether or not the present situation in the region allows Israel the possibility to attack Syria, said: First of all, I would like to welcome the KEYHAN press delegation which lives in Syria. Now, in response to your question, I must say that the present situation of the region is more explosive than ever before, caused mainly by the insistence of the Zionist regime on its aggressive policy and the occupation of the Arab lands, especially Jerusalem. The second issue is the denial of the indisputable rights of the Palestinian people by the racist Zionist regime of Israel. The third issue concerns the policies of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, which provides the opportunity to follow its expansionist policies by giving advanced arms to Israel. The policy of U.S. imperialism in the region became apparent when the United States was able to remove the Egyptian regime from the anti-Zionist front. After Egypt left the Arab front, the Zionists found the opportunity to clearly express the epitome of inhumane policies and to take practical steps to implement them. As you know, the United Nations recognized Israel provided that the regime respect international laws and seek peace. It needs no explanation that the Zionist regime is no longer worthy to be a member of the international community. The last issue is that the Zionist regime is the only regime that recognizes no boundaries in its pursuit of its territorial objectives. Here, as an example, I must point out that Yitzhak Shamir, the minister of foreign affairs of the Zionist regime, last summer during the occupation of Lebanon, in response to the question of why Israel, which has never established borders for itself, said clearly that there are definite territorial boundaries for Israel which are mentioned in the Tora--in other words, from the Euphrates River to the Nile. Even Sharon emphasized recently that the borders of Israel will be established as far as the tanks can advance. This policy of the Zionist regime must be condemned on humane, moral and other grounds. It must be said that the term condemned is not sufficient in addressing this Zionist policy, but an international effort must begin in opposition to these neo-Nazi ideas. This point was made clear with Israel's occupation of Lebanon and carrying out its treacherous plans for the slaughter at Sabra and Shatila. For instance, Israel invaded southern Lebanon, massacred children and adults, killing about 40,000 innocent, defenseless human beings. All these events together have brought the situation of the region to a head and now we

witness that the scent of war prevails everywhere. It seems that with every hour we are approaching war. The statements of civilian and military officials of the Zionist regime have also added to the probability of war. As I pointed out earlier, the aggressive policy of the United States in defending the Zionist regime, supporting the occupation of Arab lands and violating the indisputable rights of the Palestinians has brought the situation to such a point that it will block the peace solutions of the United Nations and the Security Council, because the United States, the Zionist regime and the Zionist parties do not want peace in the Middle East. They want to force the Arabs to accept Israeli conditions in order for the Zionist regime to appear to be a powerful military and economic power in the region.

The Position of the Syrian Government

But, I must say that the position of the Syrian government in regards to this situation is clear and firm, because the aggressors will never be able to attain their wishes. The history of nations is written by the determined and faithful masses. Furthermore, the future depends on the will of the strugglers and revolutionaries. For this reason, the aggressors and rebels will be destroyed and what will remain immortal is the will of the masses for freedom and progress. We are sure of God's promise and we can rely, firstly, on our people's force and, secondly, on our friends in the Arab and Islamic countries for support. Furthermore, we are supported by our friends, especially the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. We must emphasize that we want a just peace, the conditions of which I can summarize in a few paragraphs.

1. Retreat of the Zionist regime from all the Arab lands, including Jerusalem, which they have occupied since the '67 war.
2. Respect for the indisputable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of all Palestinians to return to their original homeland, their right to determine their own destiny and their right to establish an independent government under the leadership of the PLO.

We can change the state of war to a just peace by bringing about the above conditions, which is exactly what we spend all of our energy on. But, what is at issue in the Middle East at the present time is the surrender of the Arabs and not peace in the Middle East. We emphasize that we will fight this course of action with all our might, a struggle which will liberate the occupied lands and return Jerusalem. We will not permit the events of Sabra and Shatila to be repeated in Syria and other Arab countries. We love peace, but we will not surrender even if the price should be the martyrdom of everyone. Once again, I

emphasize that we will be victorious with reliance on God, because we have faith in our victory and justice.

We asked the Syrian minister of information: From which area will Israel attack Syria?

He answered: Geographically, there are several areas, but, as I mentioned earlier, the Zionist regime will not benefit from this attack.

The next question of KEYHAN was as follows: Considering the issue of war, before becoming a military war, it is a propaganda war whose aim at this stage is the psychological evolution of probable reactions in a real war in order for the United States and Israel to obtain strategic gains for their future plans from the results of this psychological war. Is this correct?

Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad said in response to the above question: That is correct. This is the issue which is presently at hand, but I must emphasize another point. The Zionist regime, because of its Zionist nature, does not take into consideration the existing reactions in the region. What Israel makes use of in order to achieve its goals is the volume and quality of the existing forces in the Arab world. Whenever Israel finds the opportunity, it carries out its expansionism and whenever it finds the conditions unfavorable, it stops. But, the essence of the policy of the Zionist regime is expansionism and aggression.

The next question concerned the quality of the existing resources in the Arab world to be used against the Zionists.

The Syrian minister of information responded: The Arab world enjoys many resources, but we are sorry to say that the positions of the Arab countries regarding Israel are not the same. The strategy of Syria is to attempt to establish Arab unity to confront Israel.

The Visit of the U.S. Secretary of State

The next question of KEYHAN put to the Syrian minister of information was: Recently, you announced in an interview with LE MONDE that Syria will not surrender to the pressure of the United States. On the other hand, you announced that Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state, may come to Damascus. In your opinion, how will this visit by Shultz be interpreted?

The Syrian minister of information responded: The issue requires no interpretation. Unclear and questionable issues require interpretation. Syria will never compromise regarding its fundamental positions and no power in the world can make us alter our positions. The positions of Syria are clear. Admitting the

U.S. envoy or any other U.S. official is evaluated within the political and international framework in order to enable us to thereby express our views and stress our firm position and, on the other hand, to hear what others have to say. With our free will, we will not stop at any effort to liberate the occupied lands. But, in regards to Shultz's visit to Syria, I must say that it is similar to those of other officials from other countries in the world who come in order to understand the Syrian positions.

We said: But, Mr Minister, as you pointed out, the U.S. policy in the region as well as the Syrian policy is clear to everyone.

The Syrian minister of information answered: Yes, the U.S. policy in the region is clear and as I said, the U.S. policy is an aggressive policy; it is a policy which does not conform to any existing standard; it is a policy which openly supports the hideous actions of Israel in the region. But, whether or not Shultz visits Damascus, our positions are clear and we insist on them at all times.

The KEYHAN question was: But, Shultz's visit to Damascus might be interpreted as a political change in the position of Damascus.

The Syrian minister of information asked: Do you mean that Shultz's visit to Damascus might be interpreted as the establishment of a new Syria?

The KEYHAN envoy explained: Mr Minister, permit me to speak more clearly. The Shultz visit to Damascus might possibly be interpreted as some sort of modification in the Syrian policy regarding the U.S. plans in the region.

The Syrian minister of information responded. I do not accept this. Here, I once again emphasize that Syria will never retreat from its positions. Syria will never surrender an inch of the occupied Arab lands and no power in the world can make Syria change these positions.

The next question of KEYHAN to the Syrian minister of information was: It seems that the Shultz visit to the region is a result of the failure of the Jordanian-Palestinian talks and is an attempt to save the U.S. policy from the Amman deadlock. But, now we see that Shultz has joined the Lebanese-Zionist talks in order to bring some sort of success to his mission. How do you analyze the situation?

Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad responded: You see, the Palestinian issue is essential to the present situation in the Middle East. The plan that Reagan has offered for the Middle East clearly ignores the existing reality. This plan was doomed from its inception

and is now rapidly approaching a deadlock. Here and there they are trying to revive this plan, but the Reagan plan openly violates the indisputable rights of the people of Palestine. The Reagan plan focuses on refusing to recognize the rights of the Arabs to liberate the occupied lands and refusing to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people to determine their own destiny and return to their homeland. Hence, what is there to motivate the Arabs to accept this plan? Reagan's plan is quite similar to the plan that (Igal Alon) presented in 1968 and this very plan appeared as the election communique of the Israeli Labor Party in 1971. The precise aim of this plan is to stabilize U.S. domination and Israeli military domination in the region. The United States tries to make the Arabs accept this plan. The Arabs rejected this U.S. position in the Fez conference. But, some of the Arab leaders whose sincerity is in doubt intend to help Israel and the United States and the Reagan plan is evaluated in this framework. The rescue of the Reagan plan from the deadlock is carried out by imposing extreme pressure on the Arabs to accept the U.S. plan. Reagan's plan is an Israeli-U.S. plan; therefore, no noble human being can accept it. However, the Syrian position in this regard is that our mere rejection of the Reagan plan will not suffice, but we will fight with all our might to defeat the U.S. and Israeli plans.

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CSO: 4640/208

ISSUES OF INTERNAL NATURE DISCUSSED BY POLICE CHIEF

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 18 Apr 83 p 2

[Interview with Col Samimi; 17 Apr 83, place not specified]

[Text] News Service-In a press conference yesterday, Col Samimi, chief of the police of the Islamic Republic of Iran, responded to questions from correspondents concerning the various activities of the police. In the conference the police chief states: The police of the Islamic Republic of Iran, along with other government organizations and revolutionary organs, with the succor of God and the help and assistance of the Hezbollah nation, is making an all-out effort to pay its debt to the pure, oppressed nation of Iran in an increasingly better way, and to remain honorable and proud before God and the revolution's great leader.

Training of Six Thousand Police Recruits

One of the duties of the Islamic republic's police personnel is the prevention of crime, and a great portion of the personnel, equipment and resources of the police is expended on this duty. This has caused the police to suffer manpower shortages in other areas. However, as a result of the government's attention to the strengthening of the police force in order to make it as active as possible, the Police University made extensive changes in selection, training, and lesson handouts, and organized political belief classes. Thus in the 1981-1982 year it began accepting students from youths believing in the Islamic revolution. It is hoped that through their graduation and the employment and training of guards in the training centers of the city-regions, we can supply 6 thousand recruits annually to compensate for this manpower shortage, and thus better carry out our assigned duties.

Crime Rate Decline

In another portion of his speech he pointed to the success of the police in preventing and decreasing theft, and said: Based on existing statistics, by our adopting necessary policies, houses and stores showed a 40 percent decrease in theft for the 1982-1983 year in comparison with the 1981-1982 year. During the past year 1,322 lost persons were identified and returned to their families by the detective department. Furthermore the detective department recovered 1,452 carpets and rugs, 1,240 gold and jewelry items, 4,730 automobiles,

and 1,310 motorbikes, and in those cases arrested 4,325 thieves and turned them over to judicial authorities.

The police furthermore succeeded in solving 467 cases of armed robbery, and turned the thieves over to the concerned authorities. The total value of all this stolen property, disregarding the value of the recovered automobiles, is 600 million tumans. Most of this property has been returned to the owners, but property still unclaimed is being kept in the detective office storehouse. In another portion of his speech Col Samimi pointed to the continuous effort of the police personnel in discovering narcotics and arresting smugglers, and to the necessity of a decisive, unremitting campaign against this destructive affliction in broader cooperation with other agencies and organs, and said: Last year the self-sacrificing police personnel across the country seized 5,768 kilograms of drugs, including cocaine, morphine, heroin, opium, burnt opium, opium residue and hashish, 1,796 boxes of smuggled cigarettes, 108 smuggled video cassette players, 255 implements for opium smoking, 4,131 kilograms of gold, and 23 firearms with 1,700 cartridges. The police arrested 13,802 persons, 997 of whom were women, in these cases. Furthermore, Tehran's police stations have gathered up 803 vagrant addicts and turned them over to judicial authorities since 12 April 1983. He emphasized the basic role of the people and their cooperation and assistance in the anti-drug campaign, and requested the martyr-nourishing nation to cooperate more with the police anti-drug office, and to give information to the closest police center or to telephone 320-2404 or 303-842.

Passport Requests

Concerning the issuing of passports to applicants, the Islamic republic's police chief said: Since the announcement of unrestricted travel abroad on 11 February 1983, the passport office has received 160 thousand requests. We send 200 letters of invitation daily to applicants on a first come-first served basis. So far we have issued 4200 letters of invitation, and the Tehran police have issued about 3 thousand passports. The city-regions have also received 80 or 90 thousand requests. Some of the provincial centers like those in Hormozegan, Fars and West Azarbaijan are doing the preliminary work, thus acting to process the applications. We are also considered doubling the daily rate of issuing letters of invitation in order to speed up passport issuance.

He also said: We have established the police in the cities of Zarand, Shadegan, Takestan and Aqlid in order to provide greater service of the Hezbollah nation and expand the police protective jurisdiction. To the same end we have implemented the Police People Assistance Plan in all the country's police stations, and in the event of a storm, flood, landslide, quake, fire, dam break, or sabotage, the police personnel will aid the people to the best of their power. Col Samimi added: Following the approval of the law annexing the Tehran Motor Vehicle Bureau to the police by the second session of the Majlis, matters relating to driving have become better organized and coordinated throughout the country. Concerning other police activities, he stated: The self-sacrificing police personnel have been present on the fronts of the war of truth against falsehood along with Hezbollah nation and Islam's brave warriors, and more than five thousand police personnel have fought against the hypocrites and other

mercenaries of the east and west on the domestic fronts, shoulder to shoulder with the Hezbollah nation and the Guards and Komiteh brothers. So far we have had a total of 258 martyrs and 69 invalids.

He also said: Issuing of Afghan identity cards began the day before yesterday in 57 branches in Tehran, and this task is continuing in other city-regions and provincial centers. We will also get help from our Mobilization brothers to speed up this process. In this interview it was also announced: In order to provide housing to police personnel, the Police Central Cooperative Company has been activated and has notified the City Land Organization of 400 persons qualified to get land and 215 persons qualified to buy half-finished apartments. In conclusion, the police chief expressed hope that more attention would be given to the welfare of the police personnel and the provision of more facilities and resources to them so that they could perform better.

9597

CSO: 4640/185

EDITORIAL CALLS FOR COMPREHENSIVE LABOR LAW PASSAGE

Tehran NAHIB-E AZADI in Persian 9 Mar 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] It has been several months since most of the press, economic circle, and those who are knowledgeable about workers' affairs have been discussing the labor law which should cover the welfare and comfort of today and tomorrow of the workers' community.

As a matter of fact, it is strange that in a pro-oppressed government, the fate of this law was not determined at the first year of the victory of the revolution. Is the worker's sector not favored, liked or supported by the management of the country when on the one hand it is titled the "Arm of the Revolution" and on the other hand it is an obvious model of an oppressed sector?

When we study the mass media's programs or pay attention to recommendations and emphasis of leadership authorities, we see that everyone's word is protective of the workers. But, what happened that the first step they took to relieve them was to cut their partnership in special profits of the workshop?

We, who are involved with the worker's sector directly or indirectly, have witnessed and observed that workers suddenly become discouraged and disappointed and even pessimistic due to hearing this unpleasant news. They were cheerful that the minister of labor was replaced every now and then and their hope was that the new minister would certainly be affectionate and an implementor of intentions of the nation's Imam.

The more time passes, the more is added to workers' disappointment; because, with this high and delirious cost of living, they do not have answers for their families and when they return home at night with tired body and soul, they see themselves subject to inattention by the country's management because they have only received word.

The labor law has been arranged for some time and due to studies being carried out about it--since it does not respond to today's "justice behavior" nor does it provide for the future of the oppressed sector, it is considered a worthless writing.

Even though we find all involved elements sympathetic toward it, it is surprising that, firstly, arrangement matter of the labor law has been delayed every day. Secondly, which delegation and which specialist and law writing group should write this chapter of the worker's welfare? If everyone recommends, everyone shows sympathy, everyone supports the worker's side, then who is delaying this matter and would not bring order to it? Even recently, the esteemed theocrat and the hope of the Imam and the nation, Ayatollah Montazeri had given his view that: "The new labor law should be comforting to the worker today and secure his living tomorrow."

Then, regarding the necessity of writing and correction and passing such a law, we do not lack anything; yes, from the point of view of confirming, emphasizing and recommending, it is perfect, what is left is the good intention of those who are involved in "arranging this law."

They formed a seminar, issued a resolution in the presence of the minister of labor and social affairs and representatives of the Islamic societies and councils; Ayatollah Imani, shar' magistrate of the Islamic Revolution Courts (assigned to labor) spoke in detail of workers' dismissal and unfair practices regarding this and a necessity to bring back dismissed workers. But, has any effect been seen so far?

In their report, for instance, they have requested that: The Islamic Council should participate and express its view on hiring, dismissal and wage determination. Also, the Councils have acknowledged the necessity of price control, production level, distribution, future planning, rewards, punishment and continuous and fair supervision. And, it was a wonder for everyone that in the draft labor law, they should use an unfamiliar and impertinent word "work-accepter" instead of the noble word of the "worker!"

The subject of the women's holiday (during pregnancy period) is not clear. The matter of assigning women to hard jobs has not received attention; and if we assume that a woman worker has a child or children who need education, what happens to the means and ways of providing them with an education? Or, if it were decided to inspect the work of women workers, why should female inspectors not be used?

These are a few problems from among thousands of problems which should be determined, clarified and decided upon.

If we wanted to know the summary of the needs of workers' society, it is that in our Islamic Iran, at this time, the problem of the farmer and agriculture, on the basis of tradition, has almost been solved and the law of the land distribution among farmers has received its final approval; but among the productive sectors of the country, it is only the work sector that brings stability to the government and the nation. Therefore:

- 1) His life today, considering the lowest price index, should be comfortable and secured.
- 2) Along with developments of the day and changes in the prices and increase in cost of living, the worker himself should have a say in the affairs of production and encouraging increase in production and determination of the wage scale.
- 3) Changes in the condition of the worker's family should affect his wage scale.
- 4) Some type of labor law must be prepared so that the worker is in fact a partner of the employer.
- 5) Every day that passes for the worker, his life for the following day should receive attention and be provided for. Disability caused on the job, accident, and age are among the factors that are considered principal bases for securing the worker's future.

In short words: Regarding workers, talks, recommendation and emphasis are enough; show good intention and take their problem to the final stage of "drafting the labor law."

CSO: 4640/206

SAVINGS SCHEME GETS GOOD RESPONSE IN QATAR

Doha DAILY GULF TIMES in English 23 Apr 83 p 12

[Text]

Pakistani expatriates in Qatar contributed 50% of investments made by overseas Pakistanis in a new saving scheme, ambassador Jehanzeb Arbab revealed yesterday.

He was speaking at a meeting organised to introduce saving schemes of Pakistan's National Savings Directorate to the expatriates.

The directorate has just launched a new scheme called Khas (special) Deposit Certificates (KDCs) to attract investments.

During the first two months of the scheme non-resident Pakistanis invested Rs15m. Half of it was made by Pakistanis working in Qatar.

Ambassador Arbab said that if this trend continued, the country would be able to finance most of its national development programmes through the scheme.

Earlier, Irtaza Zaidi, chief director of National Savings Directorate, who was on a visit to Qatar, ex-

plained different investment schemes to expatriates.

Before leaving for the United Arab Emirates yesterday, Mr Zaidi addressed two sessions — one at the Pakistan embassy and another at the Pakistan College and School for Girls.

He said Rs2,887m were deposited in KDCs during the first nine months of the current fiscal year — exceeding a target fixed for the year at Rs2,573m.

He said the government was considering a proposal of fixing a forward dollar exchange rate for KDCs to eliminate risk involved in case of depreciation of rupee's value. He indicated that like the dollar deposits, KDCs might also be exempted from deduction of zakat.

Except zakat no other taxes are levied on such investments.

Non-Pakistani and non-Muslims are already exempted from Zakat payment, which is deducted on first of Ramadan from bank deposits of Muslims in Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/597

CONTINUED DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 21 Apr 83 pp 5-6

[Text]

UNDER a brief interregnum of Martial Law, protest against the denial of civil liberty — including arbitrary arrest and detention without due legal process — is often muted. If the constitutional hiatus is accepted, it is conceded that such an interim, ad-hoc system of governance is meant to deal with an emergency, and that, both avowedly and by definition, it respects few legal norms beyond those dictated by its own necessities. However, when the military rules in its own country and over its own people for months or years, avoidance of the rule of law cannot be condoned, neither by the people concerned nor by the rest of the world. Pakistan's present situation illustrates this argument. As year follows year, and one unfulfilled promise of early return to democratic rule is followed by another somewhat diluted pledge, with no real guarantee that it will be kept punctually and punctiliously, concern naturally grows about the future of the State's polity and even the State. Deep anxiety develops over the regime's inability to show the respect that is expected of every government for fundamental human

rights, particularly the untrammelled freedom of expression, assembly and related civil liberties.

Among other matters that worry the people in these circumstances, priority is understandably given to the question of civic freedom and its denial to detenus, and particularly those who are incarcerated not for having provenly committed any offence but merely on the ground or suspicion that they may wish to act in a manner that will adversely affect the Government's prestige and position. It should be realised by all concerned that such restrictive policies are rarely attributed to the strength of a government, but more often to its weakness and lack of confidence. Anyhow, the CMLA-President's recent comment on the release of one hardy political prisoner in Lahore, promising that at the appropriate time all political detenus would be released, gives some indication that this important matter will be given proper consideration by the Government and its advisers.

Since no reliable statistics are available, and often both arrests and releases take place with the

minimum of publicity, it is just not possible to test the veracity of the allegations made, for example, by Amnesty International or Opposition parties that, at times, thousands of persons are kept imprisoned without charge or trial or the validity of Government's strong denials of these charges. The first thing to be done, therefore, is for the Government to issue a complete list of all persons who are in prison for political reasons, giving full details of the cause of detention. Nor, in today's circumstances, does it mean very much for the Federal Interior Minister to say that the Central Government has only ordered the detention of three or four persons, while the other detenus are the responsibility of the Provincial Governments. Whether action has been taken by the Centre or the Provinces, responsibility rests squarely with the regime — and this fine distinction about his hosts makes no difference to the prisoner. The list to be published should include those six hundred whom the Interior Minister considers guilty of terrorist activities, but whose crimes have yet to be proved in a court of law. Thereafter, the Government should set up a committee of jurists to examine each case carefully and order the release of everyone against whom there is no proven charge of being guilty of a penal offence. Special attention should be given to cases where trials have, for any reason, been delayed inordinately, and if no evidence is available against such suspects they should be released immediately.

Not only would such a policy-decision allay the growing feeling of unrest within the country, it would also help to rehabilitate Pakistan's reputation abroad. Within the country, the demand for release of all political prisoners has been made repeatedly by political leaders and parties considered defunct, by numerous trade unions and other organizations. More recently a concerted campaign seems to be under way through signature campaigns and attempts to revive civil liberty unions. At the same time, apart from other similar manifestations abroad, a Government that vows special friendship for the Pakistan Government — the American — has offered polite but strong reproof in its global report on human rights, by listing the happenings that are known to cause dismay and concern among those Americans whose opinion will matter a great deal in determining the future course of relations between the two countries. The U.S. State Department's report has catalogued what are considered to be violations of human rights in respect of citizens considered guilty of criminal offences, but primary attention has been given to the lack of political freedoms and the fact that a large number of persons are frequently in prison for purely political reasons. The Government's policy-makers should read this and similar reports with due attention and also take notice of the rising groundswell within the country, so that they can be persuaded to devise a new policy to cope with political dissent — one which does not involve deprivation of personal

liberty for anyone without the due process of law. And it should be accepted that the present restrictive and punitive approach offers no solution to any of the country's problems. The prolonged trial given to this method of obtaining consent or suppressing dissent has not improved the situation at all. Therefore, along with — or even before — the announcement of a new political system, the people's freedom to debate and determine national affairs must be restored to them, for as a Federal Minister confessed in Lahore recently no system can be imposed on the people without their consent and without their approval no system can work.

CSO: 4600/597

SAVINGS CAMPAIGN AMONG NONRESIDENTS STEPPED UP

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 11 Apr 83 p 4

[Text]

MUSCAT—Islamabad is mounting an all-out offensive to improve its balance of payments position, by inducing non-resident Pakistanis and foreigners to invest profitably in various national savings schemes.

A three-member delegation, headed by National Savings Organisation's director Irtaza Zaidi, (and comprising deputy secretary of the finance division Mohammed Basha and assistant director of national savings M.A. Bari, was here on the first leg of an 18-day Gulf tour that will take them to Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the UAE. The delegation arrives in Bahrain today.

For the current financial year ending June 30, the target set for a four-pronged savings campaign consisting of Mahana Amdani account (monthly income account), defence savings certificates, Khais (special) deposit certificates and prize bonds, is Rs 12.1 billion, but by the third week of March the realisation has been Rs 12.3 billion and indications are that by June the 16.5-billion mark may well be sur-

passed.

On the team's return from southern Oman headquarters Salalah yesterday, Mr Zaidi told Khaleej Times that he was confident of the mission's overwhelming success.

Mr Zaidi was here in October in connection with the launching of seven-year national deposit certificates. He said the first three months of 1983 had shown an influx of Rs 150 million from overseas Pakistanis.

The incentives for Pakistanis, from exemption of taxes and rebates and other facilities, were expected to accelerate the homeward flow, Mr Zaidi pointed out.

For instance, non-residents now had an option of maintaining deposits either in Pakistani rupees or other foreign currencies, and they could derive profits and capital and maturity in the same currency. Repatriation is also possible in the designated foreign currency.

Mr Zaidi said the advantages open to non-resident Pakistanis could also be availed by foreign nationals.

CSO: 4600/597

POLITICAL STAGNATION, IMAGE-BUILDING BY PARTIES, LEADERS DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 21 Apr 83 p 10

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text]

THE Secretary-General of the Punjab MRD, Rao Abdul Rashid, has raised some timely issues regarding the crisis of stagnation in the seven-party Movement for the Restoration of Democracy.

Addressing a Press conference in Lahore soon after his release from Sahtwal Jail, Rao Rashid charged the MRD leadership with 'complete failure' and suggested that it should either resign and make room for more active members or it should court arrest to get the imprisoned leaders of the Movement released.

He also suggested that Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Air Marshal Asghar Khan, who are detained at their homes in Khangaah and Abbotabad, should violate their detention orders and if this meant going to jail they should prefer that to being detained comfortably at home.

Nonsense

Rao Rashid dismissed as nonsense the assertion often made by some of the leading spirits of the MRD that they were capable of bringing the people on the roads but did not do so bearing the larger interests of the country in mind. The people were dispirited, he said, and in no mood for a movement.

Not for a long time have such remarks been heard. The MRD has been in neutral gear for the last two years during which its activity has seldom gone beyond periodic meetings, usually over lunch or dinner, at

which the same high-sounding resolutions have been passed and distributed. Everyone has then gone home to forget about the matter till the next meeting and the next dinner. If the BBC carries the news, so much the better and everyone is delighted. But even BBC correspondents, who have their saturation point, have started asking how long they can go on reporting resolutions which are followed by nothing. The BBC may have had a bias for the PNA in 1977, but at least it had something to report. Mark Tully wasn't always inventing the news.

MRD leaders, however, have proved in Rao Rashid's words to be not only 'law-abiding' but 'Martial Law-abiding' as well. Every restriction and externment order they have accepted and followed to the letter while avoiding anything remotely agitative. The Martial Law regime does not realise how grateful it should be.

Problems

There are problems of course. Rao Rashid has mentioned two: the imprisonment of the top leaders and the fact that the convenership of the movement changes hands every month. These are important points, but then something should be done about them. One suspects, however, that the acting leaders of the parties concerned are quite happy with this

situation. As for the convenership problem, it could be settled if the parties made up their minds to initiate practical steps for the restoration of democracy. The PNA was able to choose a permanent head, Maulana Mufti Mahmood, without sacrificing party autonomy. But then perhaps dislodging Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto exercised a greater hold over the PNA than the restoration of democracy does over the MRD.

On the other hand, the political understanding of ordinary party workers, a large number of whom have spent time inside during the last five years, is more developed and they are better able to distinguish rhetoric from reality. By this very token most of them are convinced that the leaders are just not interested in starting a movement for democracy. They may be right for the MRD leaders seem to think that the case for a transfer of power is so self-evident that all that needs to be done is to impress upon the Government the dangers the federation would face if the status quo was maintained.

The MRD is so convinced of the logic of this analysis that it is prepared to wait for the moment when the fruit will ripen and fall automatically into its laps. In private, MRD leaders frequently say that things cannot go on like this, meaning to say that events automatically will change in their favour. That power usually tends to defy such moral voluntarism is overlooked, and perhaps consciously, for the opposite standpoint imposes the necessity to make harsh choices. And no one has cared to explain how the MRD, on the strength of its current showing, thinks that it is the keeper of the federation's conscience.

The defunct PPP, generally thought to command the largest popular following, says it has borne enough hardships singlehandedly and it was time the other parties participated in the democratic struggle. In its posture

lies an unspoken invitation to the other parties to undo some of the mischief which they had helped to inflict in the first place. The other parties, however, question the wisdom of bearing the brunt of the battle, when they feel sure that the PPP will carry away the fruits of victory. It is this fear which is behind the talk which sometimes surfaces in the ranks of the MRD that there should be an election alliance beforehand to decide upon the number of parliamentary seats for each component party of the alliance. And this when the question of elections and the prospects of holding them have not gone beyond the stage of dreaming!

It is unfair to berate the defunct PPP but since it is so emphatic about being the largest party, it cannot escape its share of criticism. With Begum Bhutto abroad for an indefinite period and Miss Benazir Bhutto in permanent detention, the day-to-day leadership of the party has devolved on the heads of its feudal barons none of whom commands national stature. They have no stomach for a fight themselves and cannot inspire their party workers to fight. But they are clinging to their positions in the hope of better days to come and in the knowledge that leaving the party would mean political suicide.

Heaving this mass of inertia aside requires a major political effort. All the parties are overdue for a cultural revolution in which their Confucianists, the respecters of authority and tradition, make some space for their red guards. (They can be counted upon not to step aside altogether.) Only if they are reinvigorated can the parties and the MRD expect people to take them seriously. And only then will they be in a position to move on to the most important item on their agenda: practical steps for the restoration of democracy.

BRIEFS

FILM ON QUAID OPPOSED--JASARAT, April 15--ACCORDING to reports reaching here from London, the Government of Pakistan has entered into an agreement with the British Company, Signet, to make a 52-minute film on the life and work of the Quaid-i-Azam. The film will be ready for exhibition either by December 25 this year or March 23 next. The news did not make us happy. On the contrary, we were worried by the fact that if this less-than-one-hour film which is being obviously made to nullify the impact of the two-and-a-half-hour commercial venture, 'Gandhi', which took 20 years and 202 million dollars to complete, is not, because of its brevity, capable of being shown in cinema houses, would it be able to do justice to the Quaid? Or would we be making ourselves the laughing stock of the world? We appeal to the Government, and to President Ziaul Haq in particular, to review the agreement. If we do not have necessary time and funds, it would be unwise to give an exhibition of our clumsiness merely out of provocation or pique. The agreement should be rescinded forthwith. Let us restrict our efforts at criticising 'Gandhi' for the time being. [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 21 Apr 83 p 34]

CSO: 4600/597

TOURISM CONFERENCE OPEN TO ALL COUNTRIES

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 26 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by Thalif Deen]

[Text] Acapulco--Sri Lanka will not debar Taiwan, Israel or South Africa from a major international conference on tourism scheduled to be held in Colombo in April next year, a high ranking Sri Lankan official said.

Responding to questions from news reporters here, the Chairman of the Sri Lanka Tourist Board Mr. H. P. Siriwardhana said: "We are a free country. Everyone is welcome to the conference."

Addressing a press briefing at the annual convention of the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) Friday, Mr. Siriwardhana argued that politics will not be a factor in tourism.

Currently, Sri Lanka has no diplomatic relations with all three countries.

Sri Lanka's policy relating to the three politically-outcast nations was raised at the briefing following the Mexican government's decision to debar a group of official Taiwanese delegates from the Acapulco conference last week.

The 33rd annual PATA convention will be held in Sri Lanka beginning April 2 next year.

On Friday, Mr. Siriwardhana was officially inducted as chairman of the PATA '84 host committee.

Later Mr. Siriwardhana told the press: "We of the Sri Lanka travel industry have no doubt that we have earned the right to stage this conference through our outstanding performance over the last 15 years in building Sri Lanka from a little known spot 'somewhere in the Indian Ocean' into one of the Pacific area's leading destinations."

He pointed out that in the last decade, the tourist arrivals in Sri Lanka had increased dramatically, from about 55,000 annually to an impressive 407,000 last year.--(IPS)

CSO: 4600/608

PRIME MINISTER WRITES TO MRS THATCHER ON VICTORIA PROJECT

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 26 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Evans Cooray]

[Text]

Prime Minister R. Premadasa has written to the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher asking for her intervention again to enhance the British contribution to the Victoria Project.

His letter which follows the discussion with Mrs. Thatcher during his visit to London, states that although the Victoria Project was going on very smoothly Sri Lanka would be faced with a serious problem of financing the expenditure on the Victoria Project during the next few months.

The letter states: "I am certain you would have received reports from all who have seen Victoria recently about the manner in which the Project is keeping to schedule. I believe Her Majesty the Queen herself was very pleased at the manner in which work was proceeding and the splendid way in which British capital, British material and British expertise were combining with our own personnel in creating an asset which would be of lasting benefit to our people.

"I recall particularly your gracious gesture in

Lanka in 1979 when you took a decision to grant £100 million for the Victoria Project. We are extremely grateful to you and your government for this act which enabled us to start the separated Mahaweli Programme.

"We have since the commencement of disbursement being receiving from Britain for the Victoria Project around £30 million annually and I am told that so far we have received about \$67 million. There are further grants from the balance which we will receive in 1983 and 1984."

Mr. Premadasa has stated that while work has been going on satisfactorily and schedules have been met, Sri Lanka's problem is that due to the world wide increase in costs they were facing a cost overrun the total project which is estimated to be in the region of £25 million. He has said that these payments would fall due before completion is completed which is on the present work schedule in mid-1984.

He has added that at discussions at official level with members of the

British government who have recently visited Sri Lanka and while the general reaction to further assistance had been favourable, the question of the timing of the assistance has been raised.

"Our particular problem", the Prime Minister states in his letter, "is that we do not see the possibility of being able to allocate more funds for Mahaweli from our capital budget, since currently around 33 per cent of the capital budget is for various Mahaweli Projects. We adopted this as a conscious policy position when we took office in 1977 owing to the priority importance of building a strong base of irrigation and hydro power and we have maintained this position in spite of very many pressures."

Mr. Premadasa has said that the Victoria Project will be a lasting monu-

ment to British interests in Sri Lanka and it is a showpiece which would testify to the skill, the perseverance and the dedication of many British personnel who have taken part in its construction. Therefore he was requesting the British Prime Minister to come to Sri Lanka's assistance once more, the Prime Minister has added.

RISE IN PER CAPITA INCOME REPORTED

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 30 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] Although Sri Lanka's real gross domestic product (GDP) growth had slowed to 5.1 p.c. last year against 5.8 p.c. a year earlier, the country's real per capita income was up 3.5 p.c. against the previous year's 2.5 p.c., the Central Bank said in its 1982 annual report released yesterday.

The report, widely considered to be an authoritative pronouncement on the state of the national economy, said that GDP slowed last year mainly due to a disappointing agricultural performance with tea and paddy recording negative growth.

The bank however said that the decline in real GDP growth can be attributed to non-recurring factors. The tea and paddy flop was largely the impact of a drought. These crops are heavily weighted indicators in the computation of total domestic production.

The agricultural sector as a whole including forestry and fishing grew only 2.6 p.c. in the year against 6.9 p.c. growth achieved the previous year.

Value added in the manufacturing sector also declined due to the lower output of tea processed. However, factories and other industries including industrial exports have increased by 9.1 p.c. in 1982 over the previous year, the bank said.

The report noted that the construction sector which had boomed in the post-1977 period had recorded a negative growth rate for the second successive year.

The service sector was the only area demonstrating a higher 1982 growth rate. This was a result of wholesale and retail trade, transport and other services where activity was largely sustained by a higher level of imports responding to the inputs.

The report stressed that it was clear that the economy had to perform better in the basic sectors like agriculture and industry if other ancillary activity that contributes significantly to national income are to have sustained growth prospects.

Particular mention must be made of the need to increase the proportion of the GDP which is exported and its crucial importance in maintaining the country's balance of payments viability. The ratio of exports to GDP has been on a declining trend during the past few years.

The international economic climate reflected gloomily on primary producers like Sri Lanka in 1982 with the terms of trade declining for the fourth successive year.

The bank has computed that the loss to this country last year as a result of this decline was 8 p.c. of GNP up one percentage point from the previous year's loss.

Illustrating what this does to an economy like Sri Lanka's, the bank said that the gains from coconut production which had grown by an impressive 11 p.c. last year were almost fully wiped out by the drop in international prices.

Even worse was the way in which rubber lost its production bounce. The volume of exports increased by 17 p.c. (19 million kilos) but export earnings declined by 20 per cent. The result was that government revenue on account of rubber export duties was down to half the collection a year earlier.

CSO: 4600/608

SHIPS REGISTERING UNDER 'FLAG OF OPPORTUNITY' PLAN

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 26 Apr 83 p 11

[Text]

Singapore, April 25.
(AFP)

The local Pacific International Lines (PIL) has registered three of its ships in Sri Lanka in view of Singapore's stiffening marine regulations, the Shipping Times reported today.

PIL registered two vessels "Kota Jaya" and "Kota Wangi" with Sri Lanka last year and the third - "Kota Winda" -

recently.

Under regulations introduced in 1981, the Singapore Marine Department has limited the age of ships registered here to 17 years this year. The age limit will be further reduced to 15 years from January 1, 1984.

"Kota Winda", a 12,335-DWT ex. Nedlloyd Presso was built in 1962 while "Kota

Wangi", an ex Nedlloyd Scheide, was a ship built in 1958. It was not known exactly when "Kota Jaya" was completed.

Sources said Sri Lanka which began its "Flag of Opportunity" scheme two years ago does not have any age limitations. The only requirement is that ships on its register should meet with certain safety standards.

However, Sri Lanka calls for at least half of the ships crew to be its nationals although it does not insist on this condition at the time of the vessel's registration.

About 23 foreign vessels and yachts from several countries including Japan, Greece, Hungary, Hong Kong and Bolivia are reported to have obtained Sri Lankan registration.

CSO: 4600/608

BELGIAN AID GRANTED FOR PROJECTS

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 27 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel on Monday advised the Finance Ministry in Colombo that Belgian aid for the Moneragala district development project has been wrapped up.

Mr. de Mel who had talks with the Brussels Government last week, has told his officials that a commitment for Belgian aid totalling 353 million Belgian francs had been obtained. The bulk of this (BF 275 million) will partly fund the Moneragala project.

A Finance Ministry spokesman said yesterday that the Belgian aid, together with other pledges will enable launching the project to develop Moneragala, considered one of the country's least developed districts.

The rest of the Belgian aid will fund the winged bean research project at the Peradeniya university (BF 36 million) a jewellery crafts school in Colombo (BF 27 million) and a small farmer development project under system C of the Mahaweli scheme (BF 15 million).

Brussels has also agreed to provide technical assistance to the engineering and veterinary science faculties at Peradeniya and the management studies and commerce faculty at Sri Jayawardanapura.

Belgium has also agreed to assist the State Gem Corporation to set up a sales centre at Antwerp as part of the effort for Sri Lanka gems to enter the sophisticated European jewellery markets.

Mr. D. A. de Silva Colombo's envoy in Brussels was associated with the Minister in his talks with members of the Belgian Government.

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AUTHORITIES ALERTED ON TERRORISTS

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 26 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] IGP Rudra Rajasingham yesterday told his DIGs to keep a sharp eye on the possibility of Northern terrorist groups trying to establish themselves outside the Jaffna district.

In recent weeks there has been a thorough CID investigation into activities of an organisation that had established a strong presence in the Eastern Province.

The possibility of these elements making contacts with political groups in the South is not discounted. A link is already suspected and there is some evidence to suggest that certain Sinhalese have provided safe houses to fugitives from the law.

"The CID has a lot of information on the subject," authoritative sources said.

These matters came up for discussion at yesterday's meeting between the police chief and his DIGs.

DIG (CID) Herbert Weerasinghe had briefed his colleagues on the broad outlines of the CID investigation.

Close tabs are being kept on unauthorised settlement of people on State land in Vavuniya, the senior officers were told.

Divisional police chiefs will be directed to keep a close tab on these developments in their areas.

Sources said that the IGP had asked his deputies to meet the candidates running at the parliamentary by-elections and the leaders of the parties contesting the local polls to brief them fully on the election law.

He asked that the election law be enforced strictly and every effort made to prevent violence or other incidents. "Take firm action wherever necessary," the IGP directed.

The necessity for good public relations with the people and the press was also stressed at yesterday's meeting.

BRIEFS

INFLATION DOWN—The galloping inflation that Sri Lanka had lived with in recent years is now down to a single digit, the Central Bank report said. Describing the "significant abatement" of the inflation rate last year as "one of the notable features of the 1982 economic performance", the bank said that last year's increase of the Colombo Consumer's Price Index was 10.8 p.c. while the wholesale price index grew only 5.5 p.c. The comparative figures a year earlier were 18 and 17 p.c. Reduced budget deficits and tight money policies, assisted by lower inflation abroad, a stable exchange rate throughout the year and reduced rice and wheat flour prices had helped. Thanks to a slowing of price increases real wages both in the organised and unorganised sectors of the economy had increased. The real wages of public servants increased by 19 p.c. last year against a 3 p.c. decline a year earlier. The private sector too enjoyed a growth of real wages, though less so than in the government sector. Available data of the employment front too indicate a satisfactory performance in 1982, the bank said. [Text] [Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 30 Apr 83 p 1]

TAMILS ON HUNGER STRIKE—Berne, Friday--Fifty members of Sri Lanka's Tamil minority went on a four-day hunger strike in Berne yesterday to draw attention to their claims of political persecution at home. Some 200 Tamils who arrived in Switzerland last year have asked for asylum, but only a few have any hope of being granted this under present Swiss regulations, members of the group told a press conference. Swiss Justice Ministry officials said all 50 applications reviewed so far had been rejected because there was no proof of individual political persecution, as required by Swiss law. (Reuter). [Text] [Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 30 Apr 83 p 5]

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